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Lord Bacon's Essays

CONTINUED IN

Twenty Seven Chapters, Translated
from His Lordship's Treatise,

De Augmentis Scientiarum.

By WILLIAM WILLYMOTT, L. L. D. Fellow
of *King's-College* in *Cambridge*, and Master
of a *Private School* at *Isleworth* in *Middlesex*.

With the Life of the Author.

V O L. II.



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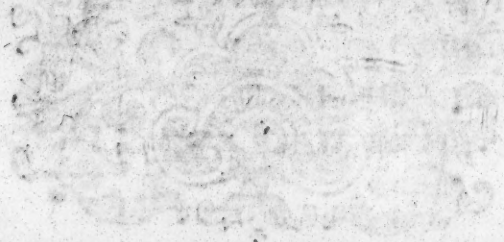
De Avaritia, Generositate

By WILLIAM WILLYMOTT, B.A. Fellow
of King's College in Cambridge, and Master
of a Private School in the City of London

With an Introduction



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LONDON

Printed by J. B. Nichols, at the Office of the

British Museum, in the Strand

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THE
LIFE
Of the Honourable
AUTHOR

*Written in Latin by his Lordship's Chaplain,
Dr. WILLIAM RAWLEY, and thus
Translated.*



FRANCIS BACON, the Glory
of his Age and Nation ; the
Adorner, and Ornament of
Learning; was Born in York-
Place, in the Street called the
Strand, on the twenty-second
of January, in the Year of our Lord, 1560.
His Father was that famous Counsellor to
VOL. II. B Queen

Queen *Elizabeth*, the second Prop of the Kingdom, in his Time, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Knight, Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*; a Worthy, of known Prudence, Judgment, Moderation, and Integrity: His Mother was *Ann Cook*, a Daughter of Sir *Anthony Cook*, Knight; unto whom the Erudition of King *Edward*, the Sixth, had been committed; a choice Lady, and eminent for Piety, Virtue, and Learning; being exquisitely skill'd, for a Woman, in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongue. These being the Parents, any one might easily make an early Conjecture, what the Issue was like to be; having had all the Advantages that Nature and Education could give him.

His first and tender Years of Childhood, pass'd not without remarkable Proofs of superior Excellency; at which Age, he was endued with such a towardness and acuteness of Wit, as gave great Hopes of that profound and universal Apprehension, which he was afterwards famous for; and caused him to be taken notice of by several of the Nobles, and other Persons of Eminence for Worth and Place; and especially by the Queen her self, who (as I have been credibly inform'd) delighted to talk with him, and to try him with pretty hard Questions: Unto whom he acquitted himself with that Gravity and Maturity of Judgment, above his Years, that her Majesty used to call him,

The

The young Lord Keeper. When she ask'd him, *How old he was*, he ingeniously, tho' but a Child, answer'd, *That he was two Years younger than Her Majesty's happy Administration.*

At the ordinary Years of Ripeness for University-Learning, or rather something earlier, by Order of his Father, he was enter'd of *Trinity College*, under the Care of the most Reverend *John Whitgift*, Doctor of Divinity, then Master of the College, afterwards the Renowned Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, a Prelate of the First Magnitude, for Sanctity, Learning, Patience, and Humility; under whom he was observ'd to have made a wonderful Proficiency, above any of his Contemporaries, in the Liberal Arts and Sciences. Whilst he was yet a Student in the University, being about 16 Years of Age (as his Lordship hath been pleased to impart unto myself) he first fell into Dislike of the *Aristotelian* Philosophy, not from any Undervalue entertain'd of the Author, whom he ever used to extol most highly, but for the Unfruitfulness of the Way; being a Philosophy (as his Lordship was often pleas'd to say) made only for Disputations and Contentions, but for the production of Works for the Benefit of human Life, altogether barren. In which Mind he continu'd to his dying Day.

After he had run the Circle of the Liberal Arts, his Father thought fit to frame and mould him to the Arts of State; and

for that End sent him over into *France*, in the Retinue of Sir *Amyas Paulet*, then design'd Ambassador in ordinary to the *French* King : By whom he was, after a while, held fit to be sent back into *England* with a Message to the Queen. Which Affair having perform'd, not without Thanks from Her Majesty, he return'd a second Time into *France*, with Intention not to see *England* again for some Years. During his Travels in *France*, his Father, the Lord-Keeper, died ; leaving (as I have heard of knowing Persons) a considerable Sum of Money, collected with Intention to have made a Purchase of Land for the use of this his youngest Son ; (who was the only one unprovided for after his Father's Death ; and tho' he had the least Part of his Father's Estate, he had a principal Share in his Affection) but this Purchase being design'd only whilst his Father was alive, and not accomplish'd, there came no greater Share to him than his single Part, and Portion of the Money dividable among five Brethren ; which was the Cause of his living in some Straits and Necessities in his younger Years. For as for that noble and pleasant Manour of *Gorbambury*, he came not to it, till many Years after, namely, by the Death of his dearest Brother, Mr. *Anthony Bacon*, a celebrated Gentleman, and perfectly well vers'd in foreign Courts, equal to his Brother in height of Wit, but inferiour to him

him in the knowledge of the Liberal Arts ; between whom there was a great Dearness of Affection, they Two being the sole Male Issue of a second *Venter*.

Being return'd from *France*, he was to resolve upon a Course of Life ; therefore he apply'd himself to the Study and Profession of the *Common-Law*, in which he attain'd to great Excellency in a short Time ; tho' (to use his own Words) he made that Knowledge but as an Accessary, not as his principal Study. He publish'd, at the very beginning, several Tractates upon that Subject, wherein, tho' some great Masters of the Law outwent him, perhaps, in Bulk and Number of Cases, yet in Weight, and in the Knowledge of the Grounds and Mysteries of the Law, he was exceeded by none.

Before he was out of his *Freshmanship* in the Law, he was sworn of the *Queen's Council Learned Extraordinary* ; a Grace (as I have been told) scarce ever indulg'd to any before. He seated himself for the Convenience of his Studies, and Practice, amongst the Honourable Society of *Greys-Inn* ; of which *House* he admitted himself a Member, where he erected that elegant Pile, or Structure, commonly known by the Name of, *The Lord Bacon's Lodgings* ; which he inhabited by Turns the most Part of his Life, (some few Years only excepted) unto his dying Day : In which Society he carried himself with

such Sweetness, Pleasantry, and Generosity of Spirit, that he was much revered and loved by the Seniors, and young Gentlemen of the House.

But notwithstanding that he stuck to the Profession of the Law, for his Livelihood, and Subsistence, yet, in his Heart and Affection, he was carried more to Political Arts, and Places of State ; for which, if Her Royal Majesty had then pleas'd, he was singularly Qualified. In his younger Years, he join'd himself with those that studied the Service and Fortunes of that noble, but unfortunate Worthy, the Earl of *Essex*, whom he serv'd, to the utmost of his Power, as a private, and most faithful Counsellor ; and endeavour'd to instil into him safe and honourable Advice, till, in the end, the Earl heark'ning to the Counsels of certain rash and violent Persons, hurried himself into Ruin.

His Birth, and ingenuous Qualifications, gave him, above others of his Profession, an easy and free Access to Court, and consequently to the Queen's Presence ; who vouchsafed to discourse him in private, and with great Familiarity, (whenever it was convenient) not only about Matters of his Profession, and Law-Business, but also about the arduous Affairs of the State of the Kingdom ; in whose Answers, from Time to Time, she was hugely satisfy'd. Nevertheless, tho' she
cheared

cheared him much with the Bounty of her Countenance, yet she never cheared him with the Bounty of her Hand, having never confer'd upon him any Office, whether of Honour or Profit, save only one dry Reversion of the *Register's-Office* in the *Star-Chamber*, worth about 1600*l. per Annum*; for which he waited, in expectation, either fully, or near twenty Years; of which Office his Lordship, in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, pleasantly said, *That it was like another Man's Ground lying upon his House, which might mend his Prospect, but did not fill his Barn.* Nevertheless, in the Reign of King *James*, he at last enjoy'd it, and manag'd it by a Deputy. But this could not be any ways imputed to a Disaffection, or Averseness in the Queen towards him, but to the Arts and Emulation of a certain Peer at that Time in great Favour with the Queen, who labour'd by all means to depress and keep him down, lest, if he had risen to any Pitch, his own Glory might have been obscured by him.

But tho' he stood long at a Stay, in the Days of his Mistress, Queen *Elizabeth*, yet after the change of Administration, and coming in of his new Master, King *James*, he made a hasty Progress; by whom he was remarkably advanc'd into Places of Trust, Honour, and Profit. I have seen a Letter in his Lordship's own Hand to King *James*, wherein he acknowledges, *That he was that*

Master to him, that had raised, and advanced him nine Times; thrice in Dignity, and six Times in Office. The Offices he means were, I conceive, Council Learned extraordinary to His Majesty; (as he had been before to Queen Elizabeth) King's Solicitor-General; King's Attorney-General; Privy-Counsellor, being yet but Attorney; Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England; lastly, Lord Chancellor: Which two last Places, tho' they be the same in Authority and Power, yet they differ in Patent, Heighth, and Favour of the Prince; since whose Time, none of his Successors was ever grac'd with the Title of Lord Chancellor to this Day. His Dignities were, first, Knight; then, Baron of Verulam; lastly, Viscount St. Alban: Besides other good Gifts, and Bounties of the Hand, which his Majesty was pleas'd to give him, both out of the Broad Seal, and Alienation Office.

Towards his rising Years, he had Thoughts of Marriage. Accordingly he took to Wife, Alice, one of the Daughters, and Co-Heirs of Benedict Barnham, Esquire, and Alderman of London; with whom he receiv'd a sufficiently ample, and liberal Portion, as well in Land, as Money. Children by her he had none; which though they be a Means to perpetuate our Name after our Death, yet he had the Fortune to be bless'd with another Issue to perpetuate his Memory, the Issue of his Brain, in which he was ever Happy, and Wonderful;

ful ; like *Jupiter*, when he brought forth *Pallas*. Neither did the Want of Children, in the least, abate his Affection to his Consort, whom he ever prosecuted with the highest conjugal Love, and Marks of Respect ; with many rich Gifts, and Settlements, besides a matrimonial Robe of Honour, which she wore twenty Years after his Death. For so long she surviv'd her honourable Husband.

The last Five Years of his Life, withdrawing from Civil Affairs, and an active Life, he employ'd wholly in Contemplation and Studies. A Thing which he seems to have had most at Heart ; as if he had affected to dye in the Shade, rather than in the Light. Whereof plain Discoveries are to be met with, in perusing his Works. In which Time he composed the greatest Part of his Books, both in *English* and *Latin* ; which I will endeavour to enumerate in the just Order of Time (being present, and observing it) wherein they were Written. They stand thus, *The History of the Reign of Henry the Seventh King of England*, in the *English* Tongue. *Abecedarium Naturæ* ; a Metaphysical Piece, which by some ill Fate is lost. *Historia Ventorum*. *Historia Vitæ et Mortis*. *Historia Densi, et Rari*, now first Printed. *Historia Gravis, & Levis* ; which is also lost. These Books written in *Latin*. Afterwards certain Fragments in *English* ; as, *A Discourse of a War with Spain*. *A Dialogue touching an*
Ho-

Holy War. The Fable of the New Atlantis. A Preface to a Digest of the Laws of England. The beginning of the History of the Reign of Henry the Eighth King of England. There had pass'd between, A Work concerning the Advancement of Learning ; in the Translating of which, by his own proper Strength, and without Help, out of English into Latin, he labour'd exceedingly, and enrich'd it every where with many and various Additions and Enlargements. Afterwards, Counsels Civil and Moral, (call'd before, Essays) but then enlarg'd both in Number and Weight, in the English Tongue. The Conversion of certain Psalms of David into English Verse. Again ; The Translation of certain Writings of his out of English into Latin ; as, The History of King Henry the Seventh. Counsels Civil and Moral ; call'd after that, Sermones Fideles ; or, Interiora Rerum. The Dialogue of the Holy War : And, The Fable of the New Atlantis ; to gratify Foreigners, who, he was told, had a Desire to see them. His Book of The Wisdom of the Antients, revised. Inquisitio de Magnete. Topica Inquisitionis de Luce & Lumine. Lastly, Sylva Sylvarum ; or, The Natural History, an English Piece. And these were the Fruits and Productions of his last Years. Books wrote before that Time, I mention not. His Lordship also design'd (upon the Motion of His Majesty K. Charles)

to have written the Reign of King Henry the Eighth : But that Book went no further than Design only, God not indulging our glorious Author longer Life. However there is a Specimen extant of that History, being the Product of a few Morning Hours of one Day, amongst his Lordship's Miscellany Works publish'd in *English* ; by which you may see, *ex ungue Leonem*.

There is a Commemoration due, as well to the Virtues, and Abilities of this Great Man, as to the Course of his Life. Those Abilities, which commonly are parted, and go single in other Men, tho' of prime Parts, met together, and were married as it were in him. Those were, *Sharpness of Wit, Strength of Memory, a piercing Judgment, and a flowing Elocution*. For the former Three, his Books do abundantly speak them ; of which (as *Hirtius* says of *Julius Caesar*) *how well and correctly he wrote them, let the World judge ; but with what ease and quickness he dictated them, I know my self*. But for the Fourth, that is, his *Elocution*, I shall mention what I my self heard Sir *Walter Rawleigh* (whose Judgment may well be trusted) once speak of him ; *That the Earl of SALISBURY was a good Speaker, but no good Pen-Man ; on the other Hand, That the Earl of NORTHAMPTON was a good Pen-Man, but no good Speaker ; but that Sir FRANCIS BACON excell'd in both, Speaking and Writing.*

I have often thought, that, if there was any Man, whom God vouchsaf'd to illuminate with a Beam of Human Knowledge, in these modern Times, it was undoubtedly He. For though he was a great Reader of Books, yet that he drew his Knowledge from Books only, must never be granted; but from certain Principles and Notions, lighted up within himself; which notwithstanding he vented not rashly, but with great Caution, and Circumspection. His *Novum Organum* (which in his own Account was the chiefest of his Works) was no slight Imagination, or Fancy of his Brain; but a fixt as it were, and radicated Notion; the Production of many Years incessant Labour. I my self have found, among his Lordship's private Papers, about twelve Copies of the *Novum Organum*, labour'd, and revised from Year to Year, and every Year still further polish'd and amended, till at last it came to that Frame, in which it was publish'd: As many living Creatures lick their Young, till they bring them to Strength of Limbs.

In the composing of his Books, he principally drove at Strength and Perspicuity of Expression; not Elegancy, or Spruceness of Language. And in Writing, or Dictating, would often ask, *If the Meaning were express'd clearly and plainly enough*: As knowing it fit, that Words should be subservient to Matter, not Matter to Words. And if he
happen'd

happen'd to hit upon a polite Stile, (as he was reckon'd a Master of the *English* Tongue) it was because he could do no otherwise. Neither was he taken with trifling and playing upon Words; but did ever purposely and industriously avoid it; well knowing that such Fooleries are but Deviations and Digressions from the Scope intended, and prejudice, and derogate, not a little, from the Gravity and Dignity of the Stile.

He was no Plodder upon Books: For though he read much, and that with great Judgment, and rejection of Impertinencies incident to many Authors, yet he would interlace a moderate Relaxation of Mind with his Studies; as gentle Walking, Coaching, slow Riding, playing at Bowls, and other such-like Exercises. And yet he would lose no Time; for, upon his first return, he would immediately fall to Reading, or Thinking again; and so suffer'd no Moment, or Slip of Time, to be lost, and pass by him unprofitably.

You might call his Table a Refection of the Ear, as well as the Stomach: Like the *Noctes Atticae*, or Entertainments of the *Deipnosophists*; wherein a Man might be refresh'd in his Mind and Understanding, no less than in his Body. I have known some of no mean Parts, that have profess'd to make use of their Note-Books, when they have risen from his Table. He never took a Pride,

as is the Humour of some, in putting any of his Guests, or that otherwise discours'd with him, to the Blush ; but was ever ready to countenance and encourage their Abilities, whatever they were. Neither was he one that would appropriate the Discourse to himself alone, but left a Liberty to the rest of the Company to take their Turns ; wherein he took Pleasure to hear a Man speak in his own Faculty, and would draw him on, and allure him to discourse upon such a Subject. And for himself, he despised no Man's Observations ; but would light his Torch at any Man's Candle.

His Opinions, and Assertions, were scarce ever controverted ; and whilst he discours'd, all hearken'd, and none contradicted ; as if he had utter'd Oracles, rather than Discourses. Which, I think, may be imputed either to the exact weighing of his Sentence, before he declar'd it, in the Scales of Truth and Reason ; or to the Esteem wherein he was universally held, that no Man would contest with him. So that there was no Argumentation, or *Pro* and *Con* known at his Table : Or, if there chanced to be any, it was carried with much Submission and Moderation.

I have often observ'd, and so have other Men of great Account, that if he had occasion, in Discourse, to repeat another Man's Words after him, he had a Faculty to dress them

in new and better Apparel : So that the Author should find his own Speech better'd in the Stile, but in Sense and Substance the same ; as if it had been natural to him to use good Forms : As Ovid spake of his Faculty of Versifying ;

Et quod tentabam dicere, Versus erat.

Whenever his Office oblig'd him (as he was of the *King's Counsel Learned*) to charge any Offender, either in *Criminal*, or *Capital Matters*, he never shew'd any thing of Haughtiness, or Insult over the Delinquent ; but behav'd himself with Mildness, and decent Temper : And though he knew it his Duty, as concern'd for the King, to charge the Party Home, yet he carried it so as to cast a severe Eye upon the Example, and a merciful Eye upon the Person. And in Affairs of State, when he was made of the *Privy-Council*, he observ'd an excellent Method of *Advising* ; not engaging his Master in any precipitate, or unpopular and oppressive Counsels ; but in moderate, and equal Courses : King James honouring him with this Testimony, *That he had the Knack of managing Business in a pleasing agreeable Manner* ; and declar'd, *That was the Way which was most according to his own Heart.*

Neither

Neither was he (when there was Occasion) less Gracious with the Subjects of the Kingdom, than with the King himself. He was ever very acceptable to the *House of Commons*, whilst he was a Member thereof. Being the King's *Attorney*, and chosen to a Place in Parliament, he was allow'd and dispens'd with, to sit in the House, which was not permitted to other *Attornies*. And as he had the Reputation of a good Servant to his Master, being never, in 19 Years Service, (as himself averr'd) rebuked by the King, for any Offence relating to His Majesty ; so he had the Character of a good Master to his own Servants ; and freely rewarded their long Attendance with good Places, when they fell into his Power ; which was the Cause why he was almost tired with Importunities to admit so many young Gentlemen of Blood and Quality into the Number of his Retinue. And if any of them made an ill Use of his Grace and Favour, it must be imputed only to an Errour in the Goodness of his Nature, and be a perpetual Mark of Infamy and Indiscretion upon them.

This great Man was strictly Religious. For though the World be apt to brand great Politicians, and exalted Wits, with the Name of *Atheists*, yet He was conversant with God ; as evidently appears by various Testimonies, scatter'd throughout the whole Thread of his Works. Otherwise he would have destroyed

stroy'd, and overturn'd his own Principles, which were, *That a smattering in Philosophy draws the Mind from God, as attributing too much to second Causes ; but a full Draught of Philosophy, brings it about again to God.* Now that He was a deep Philosopher, I believe there is no one that will deny. And not only so ; but he was both able and ready to render a Reason of the Hope, *which was in him ;* which that Writing of his, *The Confession of Faith,* doth abundantly testify. He repaired frequently (when his Health would permit him) to the Service of the Church ; to hear Sermons ; to the administration of the Sacrament ; and at last died in the true Faith, establish'd in the Church of *England.*

This may be laid down for a certain Truth, That he was entirely void of all Malice ; which (as he said himself) *he neither bred, nor fed.* As for revenging of Injuries, he never so much as thought of it ; for which, if he had been so dispos'd, he was arm'd both with Opportunity and Power. He was no Heaver of Men out of their Places ; as if the Ruin and Undoing of others were *Fatness to his Bones.* He was no Defamer of any Man to his Prince. One Day, when a great Statesman, that had been no Friend of his, was newly dead, the King ask'd him, *What he thought of that Lord which was gone ;* to whom he made answer, *That he was one*
 VOL. II. that

that never would have advanc'd or improv'd His Majesty's Estate ; but undoubtedly he would have done his best to keep it from being worse. Which I reckon not among his moral, but his christian Virtues.

His Fame is greater, and sounds louder abroad, and in foreign Parts, than at Home, in his own Nation ; thereby verifying that divine Oracle, *A Prophet is not without Honour, save in his own Countrey, and in his own House.* Concerning which, I will give you a Taste only, out of a Letter, written from *Italy* (the Store-House of refined Wits) to the late Earl of Devonshire, then the Lord Candish. It was thus : *I will expect the NEW ESSAYS of my Lord Chancellor Bacon ; as also his History, and whatever else he is composing, with great Impatience : But particularly, in his History I promise myself a perfect and finish'd Piece, especially in Henry the Seventh ; where he will have Scope to exercise the Talent of his divine Understanding.* This Lord is daily more and more known, and his Works here more and more delighted in ; and those Men that have a more than ordinary Insight into human Affairs, esteem him one of the most capable, and most sublime Spirits of this Age ; and he is truly such.

Now his Fame does not decay by length of Time, but encreases rather. Divers of his Books have been taught to speak other Languages, as well Learned as Modern, both
some

some time since, and lately, by the Natives of those Countries. Several Persons of Quality, during his Lordship's Life, cross'd the Seas into *England*, for no other Reason but to see him, and to gain an Opportunity of discoursing with him. One of whom he presented with his Picture, at full length, to carry into *France* with him; which that Stranger acknowledg'd would be a Thing most acceptable to his Country-men, that so they might enjoy the Image of his Person, as well as the Images of his Brain, his Books. Amongst the rest, Marquis *Fiat*, a *French* Nobleman, who came Ambassador into *England* the first Year of Queen *Mary*, Wife to King *Charles*, was taken with an extraordinary Desire to see him. And meeting with an Opportunity for it, when he was come into his Chamber, being then, through Weakness, confined to his Bed, he saluted him in a Stile a little of the grandest; *That his Lordship had ever been to him like the Angels, of whom he had heard much, and had also read much of them in Books, but was never indulg'd a Sight of them.* After which Interview, so intimate a Friendship was contracted between them, and the Marquis did so much revere him, that besides frequent Visits, Letters pass'd between them under the Titles and Appellations of *Father* and *Son*. As for Salutations, without Number, by Letters from foreign Worthies, devoted to Wisdom, or good Learn-

ing, I forbear to mention them ; because this is a Thing common to other Men of Note, together with him.

But when I speak of his Fame, I would be understood not in the Exclusive, but in the Comparative only ; for his Reputation is not decay'd, or weak, but strong and vigorous, among those of his Country also ; especially such as are of a more acute and sublime Understanding ; which I will exemplify but with two Testimonies, and no more. The former is this : When his *History of the Reign of Henry the Seventh* was ready for the Press, it was deliver'd by King James to the Lord Brook to peruse ; who, when he had dispatch'd it, return'd it to the Author with this Elogy, *Commend me to his Lordship, and desire him to get good Paper and Ink, for the Work is incomparable.* The other shall be that of Doctor Samuel Collins, late Professor of Divinity, and Provost of King's College in Cambridge, a Man of no vulgar Wit, who affirm'd to me, (whether in Mirth or Earnest) *That when he had read the Book of the Advancement of Learning, he found himself in a case to begin his Studies anew ; and that he had lost all the Time of his Studying before.*

It hath been desired by some Persons, that something should be inserted touching his Diet, and the Regimen of his Health ; for that, by reason of his universal Insight in-

to Nature, he may, perhaps, be to some an Example therein. For his Diet, it was rather plentiful and liberal, as his Stomach would bear, than low or restrained ; which he elsewhere commended in his *History of Life and Death*. In his younger Years he fed chiefly upon the finer and lighter Meats (as Fowls, and the like) but, upon further Experience, he approv'd rather the stronger Meats, such as the *Shambles* afford ; as those Meats which bred the stronger and more solid, and (to use his own Words) *the less dissipable* Juices of the Body ; and would often eat nothing else, though there were other Dishes upon the Table. You may be sure he would by no means neglect that himself, which you find so much extol'd in his Writings ; that is, the frequent use of *Nitre*, whereof he took the Quantity of about three Grains, in thin, warm Broth, every Morning, for thirty Years, more or less, next before his Death. As for Medicine, it is true, that he lived *Medicinally*, but not *Miserably* ; for he constantly took half a Dram, and no more, of *Rhubarb*, infused in a Draught of White-Wine and Beer mingled together, for the space of half an Hour, once in six or seven Days : And that a little before Meat (whether Dinner, or Supper) that it might dry the Body the less ; which (as himself asserted) carried away frequently the grosser Humours of the Body, without causing the

Spirits to exhale, which repeated Sweatings do. And for other Physick, (whatsoever hath been commonly said) he used none. The Receipt for the *Gout*, which himself was the Author of, and which, upon frequent Experience, eased his Pain within two Hours, is extant in the End of the *Natural History*.

It may seem that the *Moon* had some principal Place in the Figure of his Nativity. For as often as the Moon was eclipsed, he was seiz'd with a sudden Fit of Fainting ; and that tho' he had no previous Knowledge of the Lunar Defect : And the Eclipse no sooner ceas'd, but he recover'd, and came to himself again.

He died on the 19th Day of *April*, in the Year 1626, early in the Morning of the Day celebrated for our Saviour's Resurrection, in the 66th Year of his Age, at the Earl of *Arundel's* House, in *High-Gate*, near *London* ; to which Place he casually repaired eight Days before, for Diversion, and not with design to stay ; God so ordaining, that he should dye there of a gentle Fever, accompanied with a violent Defluxion, whereby the Rheum fell so plentifully upon his Breast, that he dyed by Suffocation. He was buried in *St. Michael's Church*, at *St. Albans* ; the Place appointed for his Burial by his last Will and Testament, both because the Body of his Mother was inter'd there ;
and

and because it was the only Church remaining from the Ruins of old *Verulam*. Where he hath a noble Monument of *White Marble* erected for him (by the Care and Gratitude of Sir *Thomas Meautys*, Kt. his Executor, and formerly his Lordship's Secretary, and afterwards Clerk of the Privy-Council, under two Kings) representing his Effigies sitting in a Chair, and studying ; together with an Epitaph composed out of Love and Admiration, by that accomplish'd Gentleman, and bright Wit, Sir *Henry Wotton*.

But howsoever his Body, which he deposited, was mortal, yet his Works and Memory will undoubtedly live, and endure as long as the World endures. In order to which, I have thought good (according to my poor Ability) to make this Collection, such as it is, by way of contributing (after a sort) to the propagating of his Name to Posterity.

December 23. 1710. No. 267.

The TATLER.

*Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit, et omnes
Restinxit stellas, exortus uti Æthereus Sol.*

Lucr.

I Have heard, that it is a Rule among the Conventuals of several Orders in the *Romish* Church, to shut themselves up at a certain Time of the Year, not only from the World in general, but from the Members of their own Fraternity, and to pass away several Days by themselves, in settling Accounts between their Maker and their own Souls, in cancelling unrepented Crimes, and renewing their Contracts of Obedience for the future. Such stated Times for particular Acts of Deyotion, or the exercise of certain religious Duties, have been enjoin'd in all civil Government, whatever Deity they worshipped, or whatever Religion they professed. That which may be done at all Times, is often totally neglected and forgotten,

gotten, unless fixed and determined to some Time more than another; and therefore, tho' several Duties may be suitable to every Day of our Lives, they are most likely to be perform'd, if some Days are more particularly set apart for the Practice of them. Our Church has accordingly instituted several Seasons of Devotion, when Time, Custom, Prescription, and (if I may so say) the Fashion it self, call upon a Man to be serious and attentive to the great End of his Being.

I have hinted in some former Papers, that the greatest and wisest of Men in all Ages and Countries, particularly in *Rome* and *Greece*, were renowned for their Piety and Virtue. It is now my Intention to show how those in our own Nation, that have been unquestionably the most eminent for Learning and Knowledge, were likewise the most eminent for their adherence to the Religion of their Country.

I might produce very shining Examples among the Clergy; but because Priestcraft is the common Cry of every cavilling, empty Scribbler, I shall shew, that all the Laymen who have exerted a more than ordinary Genius in their Writings, and were the Glory of their Times, were Men whose Hopes were filled with Immortality, and the Prospect of future Rewards, and Men who lived in a dutiful Submission to all the Doctrines of Revealed Religion. I

I shall in this Paper only instance Sir *Francis Bacon*, a Man who for the Greatness of Genius, and Compass of Knowledge, did Honour to his Age and Country ; I could almost say, to human Nature it self. He possess'd at once all those extraordinary Talents which were divided amongst the greatest Authors of Antiquity. He had the sound, distinct, comprehensive Knowledge of *Aristotle*, with all the beautiful Lights, Graces, and Embellishments of *Cicero*. One does not know which to admire most in his Writings, the Strength of Reason, Force of Stile, or Brightness of Imagination.

This Author has remarked in several Parts of his Works, that a thorough Insight into Philosophy makes a good Believer, and that a Smattering in it naturally produces such a Race of despicable Infidels, as the little profligate Writers of this present Age, whom (I must confess) I have always accused to my self, not so much for their Want of Faith as their Want of Learning.

I was infinitely pleased to find among the Works of this extraordinary Man, a Prayer of his own composing, which for the Elevation of Thought, and Greatness of Expression, seems rather the Devotion of an Angel than a Man. His principal Fault seems to have been the Excess of that Virtue which covers a multitude of Faults. This betrayed him to so great an Indulgence

gence towards his Servants, who made a corrupt Use of it, that it stripp'd him of all those Riches and Honours which a long Series of Merits had heaped upon him. But in this Prayer, at the same Time that we find him prostrating himself before the great Mercy-Seat, and humbled under Afflictions, which at that Time lay heavy upon him, we see him supported by the Sense of his Integrity, his Zeal, his Devotion, and his Love to Mankind, which give him a much higher Figure in the Minds of Thinking Men, than that Greatness had done from which he was fallen. I shall beg leave to write down the Prayer it self, with the Title to it, as it was found among his Lordship's Papers, written by his own Hand; not being able to furnish my Reader with an Entertainment more suitable to this solemn Time.

*A Prayer, or Psalm, made by my Lord
Bacon, Chancellor of England.*

‘ **M**OST gracious Lord God, my mer-
‘ ciful Father; from my Youth-up,
‘ my Creator, my Redeemer, my Comforter.
‘ Thou, O Lord, soundest and searchest the
‘ Depths and Secrets of all Hearts; Thou
‘ acknowledgest the upright of Heart; Thou
‘ judgest

‘ judgest the Hypocrite ; Thou ponderest
‘ Men’s Thoughts and Doings, as in a Ba-
‘ lance ; Thou measurest their Intentions
‘ as with a Line : Vanity and crooked Ways
‘ cannot be hid from Thee. Remember, O
‘ Lord ! how thy Servant hath walked be-
‘ fore Thee : Remember what I have first
‘ fought, and what hath been principal in
‘ my Intentions. I have loved thy Assem-
‘ blies, I have mourned for the Divisions of
‘ thy Church, I have delighted in the
‘ Brightness of thy Sanctuary. This Vine,
‘ which thy Right-Hand hath planted in
‘ this Nation, I have ever prayed unto
‘ Thee, that it might have the first and
‘ the latter Rain ; and that it might stretch
‘ her Branches to the Seas, and to the Floods.
‘ The State and Bread of the Poor and Op-
‘ pressed have been precious in mine Eyes.
‘ I have hated all Cruelty, and hardness of
‘ Heart. I have (tho’ in a despised Weed)
‘ procured the Good of all Men. If any
‘ have been my Enemies, I thought not of
‘ them ; neither hath the Sun almost set
‘ upon my Displeasure ; but I have been as
‘ a Dove, free from Superfluity of Mali-
‘ ciousness. Thy Creatures have been my
‘ Books, but thy Scriptures much more. I
‘ have fought Thee in the Courts, Fields,
‘ Gardens, but I have found Thee in thy
‘ Temple.

‘ Thou-

‘ Thousands have been my Sins, and ten
‘ Thousands my Transgressions, but thy San-
‘ ctifications have remained with me, and
‘ my Heart (through thy Grace) hath been
‘ an unquenched Coal upon thine Altar.

‘ O Lord, my Strength ! I have since my
‘ Youth met with Thee in all my Ways, by
‘ thy fatherly Compassions, by thy comfor-
‘ table Chastisements, and by thy most visi-
‘ ble Providence. As thy Favours have in-
‘ creased upon me, so have thy Correcti-
‘ ons ; so as Thou hast been always near
‘ me, O Lord ! And ever as my worldly
‘ Blessings were exalted, so secret Darts from
‘ Thee have pierced me ; and when I have
‘ ascended before Men, I have descended in
‘ Humiliation before Thee. And now when
‘ I thought most of Peace and Honour,
‘ thy Hand is heavy upon me, and hath
‘ humbled me according to thy former lo-
‘ ving Kindness, keeping me still in thy fa-
‘ therly School, not as a Bastard, but as a
‘ Child. Just are thy Judgments upon me
‘ for my Sins, which are more in Num-
‘ ber than the Sands of the Sea, but have
‘ no proportion to thy Mercies : For what
‘ are the Sands of the Sea ? Earth, Hea-
‘ vens, and all these, are nothing to thy
‘ Mercies.

‘ Besides my innumerable Sins, I confess
‘ before Thee, that I am a Debtor to Thee
‘ for the gracious Talent of thy Gifts and
‘ Graces,

‘ Graces, which I have neither put into a
‘ Napkin, nor put it (as I ought) to Ex-
‘ changers, where it might have made best
‘ Profit, but mispent it in Things for which
‘ I was least fit : So I may truly say,
‘ my Soul hath been a Stranger in the
‘ Course of my Pilgrimage. Be merciful
‘ unto me, O Lord, for my Saviour’s sake,
‘ and receive me unto thy Bosome, or guide
‘ me in thy Ways.





BACON's Essays

CONTINU'D.

CHAP. I.

*Of the Discredits of LEARNING,
and the Answer.*

De Augmentis Scientiarum. Lib. Prim.



O clear the Way, and as it were to command Silence, in order to have the Testimonies concerning the Dignity of Learning to be better heard, without the Interruption of tacit Objections, I have determin'd in the first Place, to deliver Learning from the

the Disgraces and Discredits, which Ignorance has cast upon it ; but Ignorance, under several Forms, appearing and discovering it self sometimes in the Zeal of Divines, sometimes in the Arrogance of Politicians, and sometimes in the Errors of Learned Men themselves.

I hear the first say, *That Knowledge is of the Number of those Things, which are to be admitted with Limitation and Caution : That an over-great Appetite of Knowledge, was the first Sin, whereupon ensued the Fall of Man ; and that even to this Day it bath somewhat of the Serpent in it ; for when it enters, it makes a Man swell ; Scientia inflat. That Solomon is of Opinion, that there is no end of making Books ; and that much Reading is weariness of the Flesh. And in another place, That in much Wisdom there is much Grief : And that he that encreaseth Knowledge, encreaseth Anxiety. That St. Paul puts in a Caveat, That we be not spoiled through vain Philosophy. Further, That Experience demonstrates, that the learned'st Men have been Arch-Hereticks ; and the learned'st Times inclined to Atheism. Finally, That the contemplation of Second Causes derogates from the Authority of the First Cause.*

TO discover then the Falsity of this Opinion, and the Weakness of its Foundation,
any

any Man may see plainly, that these Men do not observe and consider, that the Knowledge which occasion'd the Fall, was not that pure and primitive Knowledge of Nature, by the Light of which, Man gave Names to other Creatures in Paradise, as they were brought before him, according to their Proprieties ; but that proud Knowledge of *Good* and *Evil*, by which he affected to shake off God, and give Law to himself. Neither is it any Quantity of Knowledge, how great soever, that can swell the Mind, since nothing can fill the Soul, much less extend it, but God, and the Contemplation of God : And therefore *Solomon* speaking of the two principal Senses of Inquisition (*Seeing* and *Hearing*) saith, *That the Eye is never satisfied with Seeing, nor the Ear with Hearing.* Eccles. i. 8. And if there be no Fulness, it follows, that the Continent is greater than the Content.

IN like manner, of Knowledge it self, and the Mind of Man (to which the Senses are but as Emissaries) he defines in these Words, which he subjoins to his Calendar, or Register, that sets down the Times and Seasons of all Things, concluding thus : *God hath made all Things beautiful, or decent, in the true return of their Seasons.* Eccles. 3. 11. *Also he hath placed the World in Man's Heart, yet cannot Man find out the*

Work which God worketh from the Beginning to the End. By which Words he plainly intimates, that God has framed the Mind like a Mirrour, or Glasse, capable of the Image of the Universal World, and as desirous of receiving it, as the Eye is of Light, and delighted to behold not only the Varieties and Vicissitudes of Times, but ambitious likewise to search, and spy out the immoveable and inviolable Laws and Decrees of Nature. And altho' he seem to insinuate, that the Whole of that Oeconomy of Nature (which he calls *the Work which God works from the Beginning to the End*) is not possible to be found out by Man; this does not derogate from the Capacity of Man, but should be cast upon the Impediments of Knowledge; such as the shortness of Life; separation in Men's Studies; a depraved and unfaithful Tradition of Knowledge, from hand to hand; and a World of other Inconveniences, to which the Condition of Man is subject. For that no Part of the Universe is improper for the Disquisition of Man, he shews clearly enough in another Place, where he says, *The Spirit of Man is as the Lamp of God, wherewith he searcheth the Inwards of all Secrets.*

IF then such be the Capacity of the Mind of Man, it is manifest that there is no Danger from the Quantity of Knowledge (how large

large soever) lest it should make it swell ; but merely in the Quality of Knowledge, which tho' never so small, if it be taken without its proper Antidote, hath a kind of Malignity and Venom in it, full of flatuous Symptoms. This Antidote, or Corrective-Spice (the mixture whereof tempers Knowledge, and renders it exceeding wholesome) is *Charity*, which also the Apostle subjoins to the former Clause, saying, *Knowledge puffeth up, but Charity buildeth up* : Not unlike that which he delivers in another Place, *Tho' (says he) I spake with the Tongues of Men, and of Angels, and have not Charity, I am become as sounding Brass, or a tinkling Cymbal*, 1 Cor. 13. Not but that it is an excellent Thing to speak with the Tongues of Men and Angels, but because if it be severed from *Charity*, and not referr'd to the publick Good of Mankind, it will rather exhibit an empty Glory, than any solid Fruit.

AS for *Solomon's* Censure, touching the Excess of Writing and Reading Books ; and the Anxiety of Spirit redounding from Knowledge ; and that Admonition of *St. Paul*, *That we be not seduced by vain Philosophy* ; let those Passages be rightly explain'd, and they do excellently point out the true Bounds and Limits, within which Human Knowledge is confined and circumscribed, yet so as that She may be at liberty, without any

straitning, to comprehend and take in the universal Nature of Things. The Limits are Three. *The First*, That we do not so place our Felicity in Knowledge, as to forget our Mortality. *The Second*, That we do not so use our Knowledge, as that it may be the occasion of Anxiety, not Tranquillity of Mind. *The Third*, That we do not think, by the Contemplation of Nature, to be able to reach the Divine Mysteries.

AS to the First, *Solomon* doth excellently expound himself in another Place of the same Book, *Eccles. 2. 13. &c.* *I saw well*, saith he, *that Wisdom recedeth as far from Folly, as Light from Darknes.* *The wise Man's Eyes keep watch in his Head, whereas the Fool rovetb about in Darknes* ; but withal *I learn'd*, that the same Mortality involves them both.

FOR the *Second*, Certain it is, that no Anxiety, or Perturbation of Mind, results from Knowledge, but merely by Accident. For all Knowledge, and Wonder, (which is the Seed of Knowledge) is in it self Pleasant ; but when Conclusions are drawn from it, which being obliquely applied to our own Particular, beget either weak Fears, or vast Desires, then, and not till then, arises that Vexation, and Trouble of Mind, of which we are speaking : For then

then Knowledge is no longer Dry Light, (as *Heraclitus* the *Obscure*, would have it, *Lumen siccum optima anima* ; Dry Light's the best Soul) but becomes *Lumen madidum, atque Humoribus Affectuum maceratum* ; Light steeped and infused in the Humours of the Affections.

THE Third Rule requires a more accurate Disquisition, and is not to be lightly passed over. For if any Man thinks, by a View and Enquiry into sensible and material Things, to attain so much Light, as will be sufficient to discover the Nature, or Will of God, that Man indeed is spoil'd through vain Philosophy. For the Contemplation of the Creatures, with regard to the Creatures themselves, produces Knowledge ; but with regard to God, Wonder only, which is a kind of broken Knowledge. And therefore it was most aptly said by one of *Plato's* School : That Human Senses resemble the Sun, which reveals indeed the Terrestrial Globe, but seals up the Celestial, and the Stars. So the Sense discovers natural Things, but darkens and shuts up Divine. And hence it hath come to pass, that some of the learned Tribe have tumbled into Heresy, whilst they labour'd to fly up to the Secrets of the Deity, upon the waxen Wings of the Senses.

AS to the Conceit of those, who are of Opinion that too much Knowledge inclines the Mind to Atheism, and that the Ignorance of Second Causes is, as it were, a Midwife to our Piety towards the First Cause, I would willingly ask these Persons *Job's* Question, *Job* 13. 7. *Whether it be fit to Lie for God, and for his Sake to speak deceitfully, that we may gratify him?* For it is plain, that God worketh nothing in Nature, according to ordinary Course, but by Second Causes; and if they would have it otherwise believed, 'twould be mere Imposture, as it were, in favour to God; and nothing else, but to offer to the Author of Truth, the unclean Sacrifice of a Lye.

BUT further, it is an assured Truth, and warranted by Experience, that a small, or superficial Taste of Philosophy, may perchance incline a Man to Atheism, but that a deeper Draught brings him back again to Religion. For, in the entrance to Philosophy, when the Second Causes, which are, as it were, nearest to the Senses, offer themselves to the Mind of Man, and the Mind it self cleaves unto them, and dwells upon them, an Oblivion of the First Cause may possibly creep in: But if a Man proceed further, and view the Dependence, Continuation, and Confederacy of Causes, and the

Of the Discredits of Learning. 9

the Works of Providence, then according to the Allegory of the Poets, he will easily believe that the highest Link of *Nature's Chain*, is fasten'd to the Foot of *Jupiter's Chair*.

TO conclude in a Word, let no Man, in pursuit of the Name of an ill-apply'd Sobriety and Moderation, imagin, that we can go too far, or be too well-studied in the Book of God's Word, or in the Book of God's Works, Divinity, or Philosophy; but rather let Men awaken themselves, and vigorously urge and pursue an endless Progress, or Proficiency in both; only let 'em beware, lest they apply Knowledge to Swelling, not to Charity; to Ostentation, not to Use: And again, That they do not unskilfully mingle and confound those distinct Learnings of Theology and Philosophy, and their several Waters together.

C H A P. II.

*Discredits of LEARNING from the
Objections of Politicians, &c.**De Augmentis Scientiarum. Ibid.*

OW let us come to the Disgraces wherewith the Politicians asperse Learning. They are of this Nature: *That the Arts soften Men's Minds, and render them unapt for Military Glory. Then, in matter of Politicks too, that they spoil Men's Dispositions, making them either too Curious by Way of Reading, or too Peremptory and Positive by the Stiffness and Strictness of Rules; or too Swelling, by reason of the Greatness of Examples; or too Incompatible with the Times, by reason of the Dissimilitude of Examples: But at least, that they divert however, and alienate Men's Minds from Business and Action; instilling into them a love of Leisure and Privacy: Next that they bring into States a Relaxation of Discipline, whilst every Man is more ready to Argue, than to Obey. Upon which Conceit, Cato, surnamed the Censor, one of the wisest Men that ever lived, when the young Men of Rome, flock'd from all*

Quar-

Quarters about *Carneades* the Philosopher, who was come Embassador from *Rome*, taken with the Sweetness and Majesty of his Eloquence, gave Counsel in full Senate, That they should give him his Dispatch with all speed, lest he should infect and enchant the Minds of the Citizens, and at unawares bring in an Alteration of the Mannérs and Customs of the State. The same Conceit mov'd *Virgil* also, preferring the Honour of his Country, before his own Profession, to make a Separation between the Arts of Policy, and the Arts of Literature, claiming those to the *Romans*, and leaving these to the *Grecians*, in those celebrated Verses, *Æn.* 6. V, 847. &c.

Excudent alii, &c.

*Let others better mould the running Mass
Of Mettal, and inform the breathing Brass,
And soften into Flesh a Marble Face :
Plead better at the Bar ; describe the Skies,
And when the Stars descend, and when they rise.
But Rome, 'tis Thine alone, with awful Sway,
To rule Mankind, and make the World obey ;
Disposing Peace and War thy own majestick Way.*
Dryden.

WE see likewise that *Anytas*, the Accuser of *Socrates*, laid it as an Article of Charge and Accusation against him, That he did by the Power and Variety of his Discourses and Disputations, embase in the Minds of young Men, the Authority and Reverence of the Laws and Customs of their Country ; and that he did profess a dangerous and pernicious Art, with which, whoever was furnish'd, might make the worse Cause the better, and suppress Truth it self by the Train and Bravery of Eloquence.

BUT these, and the like Imputations, carry rather a personated Gravity, than any Sincerity of Truth. For Experience witnesses, as the self-same Persons, so the self-same Times have flourish'd in the Glory of Arms and Good Letters at once. As for Men, we may instance in that noble Pair of Emperors, *Alexander* the Great, and *Julius Cæsar* the Dictator ; the One, *Aristotle's* Scholar in Philosophy, the Other, *Cicero's* Rival in Eloquence. Or if any Man should rather call for Learned Men, that have proved great Generals, than Generals that were great Scholars, there is ready for him *Epaminondas* the *Theban*, or *Zenophon* the *Athenian* ; the former of which was the first that paved the Way to the overthrow of the

the *Persian* Monarchy. And this Marriage, as it were, of Arms and Letters, is yet more visible in Times, than in Persons, by how much an Age is a greater Object than a Man. For the very same Times with the *Egyptians*, *Assyrians*, *Persians*, *Grecians*, and *Romans*, that are most renown'd for military Vertue, were likewise most admired for Learning too ; so that the gravest Authors and Philosophers, and the most celebrated Captains and Governours, have lived in the same Age. Nor indeed can it otherwise be, for as in Man the Vigor of Body and Mind grow to maturity almost together (save that the former is a little more early than the other) so in States, the Glory of Arms and Learning (the one whereof corresponds to the Body, the other to the Soul) are either Coeval, or follow one another very close.

NOW for matter of Policy and Government, that Learning should rather be an Impediment, than a Help to it, is a Thing very improbable. We all confess it an unadvised Act, to commit a natural Body, and the Cure of Health, to Empyrick Physicians, who are wont to make boast of a few Receipts, which seem to them universal Remedies, in confidence of which they venture to attempt any thing, when yet they neither know the Causes of Diseases, nor the Constitutions

tutions of Patients, nor the Danger of Symptoms, nor the true Method of Cures. We see it a like Error in those, who for the dispatch of their Causes and Suits, make use of little Lawyers, vers'd in Practice rather, than in the Law-Books, who are easily impos'd upon, if there fall out any thing new, or out of the common Road of their Experience : So by like reason, it must needs be a Matter of great Danger, whenever the Sum of Affairs is intrusted chiefly to Empyrick Statesmen. On the contrary, there can scarce one Instance be brought of a disastrous Government, where Learned Men have sat at the Helm. For tho' it hath been ordinary with Politicians to vilify Learned Men by the Name of *Pedants* ; yet History, the Mistress of Truth, bears Record in abundance of Particulars, that the Government of Princes in Minority, (notwithstanding the great Disadvantage of that kind of State) have nevertheless excell'd the Government of Princes of mature Age, even for that Reason, which Politicians traduce, namely because, at that Time the administration of Affairs has been in the Hands of *Pedants*. Who does not know, that during those five Years of *Nero*, so much magnify'd, the Burden of Affairs lay upon *Seneca* a *Pedant* ? So again, *Gordianus* the younger, owed the ten Years applauded Government to *Misitheus*, a *Pedant*. Nor did *Alexander Severus* govern
less

less happily in his Ministry, in which Space Women took care of all Things, but with the Advice of *Preceptors*.

N A Y, let us look into the Government of the Bishops of *Rome*, and by Name, that of *Pius Quintus*, or *Sextus Quintus*, in our Times, who were esteem'd at their entrance but as poor, ignorant, and unexperienc'd Friars; and we shall find that the Acts of such Popes are usually more memorable, than of those who have ascended to the Papacy from an Education and Breeding in Affairs of State, and in the Courts of Princes. For altho' Men, that have spent most of their Life in Letters, are less quick and nimble in apprehending Occasions, and in Points of Convenience, and accommodating Things for the present, which the *Italians* call *Ragioni di stato*, (the very Name whereof *Pius Quintus* could not bear, being used to say, That they were the mere Devices of wicked Men, wherewith to oppress Religion and the moral Virtues) yet in this there is made ample Recompence, that they are perfect and ready in the safe and plain Way of Religion, Justice, Honesty, and the moral Virtues; which Way they that constantly keep, will no more need those other Remedies, than a sound Body does Physick. Moreover, the space of one Man's Life cannot furnish Presidents enough to direct the
Events

Events of but one Man's Life. For as it sometimes happens, that the Grandson, or great Grandson, resembles the Grand-Father, or great Grand-Father more than the Father, so many times it comes to pass, that the Occurrences of present Times sort better with antient Examples, than with those of later Times. Lastly, The Wit of one Man yields as much to the Extent and Latitude of Learning, as the Income of a private Man to a publick Treasury.

AND tho' 'twere granted, that those Depravations, Indispositions, and Impediments, which are imputed to Learning by Politicks, were of any Force and Validity, and had any Truth in them, yet it must be remembered withal, that Learning in each of these is more medicinal than it is hurtful. For allow, that Learning by a secret Influence renders the Mind irresolute and perplex; yet certainly it plainly teaches how to unwind the Thoughts, how far to deliberate, and when at last to resolve; nay, it shews how Things in the mean time may be protracted, and suspended without Prejudice.

BE it likewise granted, That Learning makes Men's Minds too positive and stiff; yet withal it teaches, what Things are in their nature Demonstrative, and what Conjectural; and propounds as well the Use of
Distin-

Distinctions and Exceptions, as the Stability of Rules and Principles.

B E it again, That it misleads and wrests Men's Minds, either by the disproportion or dissimilitude of Examples, that I can't tell ; yet this I know well, that it unfolds, and lays open as well the Force of Circumstances, as the Errors of Comparisons, and teaches all the Cautions of Application ; so that in the whole, it rectifies Men's Minds more than it perverts them. And these Remedies Learning insinuates every where by the great Force and Variety of Examples. Let a Man weigh well the Errors of *Clement* the VIIth, so lively describ'd by *Guicciardine*, that was a kind of Domestick to him ; or the Waverings of *Cicero*, painted to the Life by his own Pencil, in his Epistles to *Atticus* ; and he will of all things shun Inconstancy, and frequent shifting of Resolutions. Let him look into the Errors of *Phocion*, and he will dread Obstinacy, and Wilfulness. Let him read the Fable of *Ixion*, and it will dispel excessive Hopes, and such like Fumes and Mists. Let him consider *Cato* the Second, and he will never go to the *Antipodes*, and tread opposite to the present World.

NOW for the Conceit of those that think Learning a Friend to Sloth, and that it overspreads

Events of but one Man's Life. For as it sometimes happens, that the Grandson, or great Grandson, resembles the Grand-Father, or great Grand-Father more than the Father, so many times it comes to pass, that the Occurrences of present Times sort better with antient Examples, than with those of later Times. Lastly, The Wit of one Man yields as much to the Extent and Latitude of Learning, as the Income of a private Man to a publick Treasury.

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Distin-

Distinctions and Exceptions, as the Stability of Rules and Principles.

B E it again, That it misleads and wrests Men's Minds, either by the disproportion or dissimilitude of Examples, that I can't tell; yet this I know well, that it unfolds, and lays open as well the Force of Circumstances, as the Errors of Comparisons, and teaches all the Cautions of Application; so that in the whole, it rectifies Men's Minds more than it perverts them. And these Remedies Learning insinuates every where by the great Force and Variety of Examples. Let a Man weigh well the Errors of *Clement* the VIIth, so lively describ'd by *Guicciardine*, that was a kind of Domestick to him; or the Waverings of *Cicero*, painted to the Life by his own Pencil, in his Epistles to *Atticus*; and he will of all things shun Inconstancy, and frequent shifting of Resolutions. Let him look into the Errors of *Phocion*, and he will dread Obstinacy, and Wilfulness. Let him read the Fable of *Ixion*, and it will dispel excessive Hopes, and such like Fumes and Mists. Let him consider *Cato* the Second, and he will never go to the *Antipodes*, and tread opposite to the present World.

NOW for the Conceit of those that think Learning a Friend to Sloth, and that it over-
verspreads

verſpreads the Mind with a ſweet Slumber of Repoſe and Retirement, they will do a Miracle if they can prove, That ~~that~~ which accuſtoms the Mind to a perpetual Motion, and Agitation, is the Patroness of Sloth : Whereas, on the contrary, it may be truly affirm'd, That no kind of Men love Buſineſs for Buſineſs-ſake, but the Learned. For other Perſons love Affairs and Buſineſs, for the Profit, as Hirelings the Work for the Wages : Others for Honour ; for while they are in Action, they live in the Eyes of Men, and reſreſh their Reputation, which would otherwiſe decay. Others for the ſake of Power, and the Privileges of Fortune, that they may be able to reward their Friends, and be reveng'd of their Enemies. Others, that they may exerciſe ſome peculiar Faculty that they are fond of, and in that reſpect often congratulate and pleaſe themſelves. Others, laſtly, to obtain other Ends of theirs. So that as it is ſaid of Braggadocio's, that their Valour is in the Eyes of the Spectators ; ſo ſuch Men's Diligence and Activity ſeems to aim at this, either that others may applaud them, or that they may be delighted inwardly in pleaſing Conceits of themſelves, and their own Deſigns : Only Learned Men love Buſineſs and Employment, as Actions agreeable to Nature, and no leſs healthful to the Mind, than Exerciſe is to the Body, having an Eye to the Thing only, not the Profit : So that
of

all Men, they are the most Indefatigable, provided it be any such Business as can fill and entertain the Mind according to its Dignity.

AND if any be found sometimes active in Reading, but idle in Action, they have not this from Learning, but from some Weakness and Softness of Body, or Spirit; such as *Seneca* touches: *Some, says he, are so much for Shade and Obscurity, that whatever is in the Light, they take to be in a Storm.* It may perchance happen, that Men from a Consciousness of such a Temper, may give themselves to Learning; but Learning it self implants and breeds no such Temper.

BUT if any Man, notwithstanding, peremptorily maintains, That Learning swallows up too much Time, which might otherwise be better employ'd; I answer, That no Man is so straitned and oppress'd with Business, but he has his Intermissions and Vacancies, till the Returns and Tides of Business flow in again, unless he be either very dull, and of no Dispatch; or ambitious (little to his Credit and Reputation) in reaching after Business of all Kinds and Natures.

IT remains then to be enquir'd, with what, and in what manner it may be convenient.

to fill up those spare Hours ; whether with Studies or Pleasures, with Sensuality, or Contemplation ; as was well answer'd by *Demosthenes* to *Æschines*, a Man given to Pleasure, who when he told him by way of Reproach, *That his Orations smelt of the Lamp.* In troth, says he, *there is great difference between the Things that I and you do by Lamp-Light.* Wherefore there is no need of fearing, lest Learning should expel Business ; nay, rather it rescues and defends the Mind from Idleness and Pleasure, which otherwise by degrees are wont to steal in, to the prejudice of both, Business as well as Learning.

AGAIN, Whereas they object, that Letters undermine the Reverence of Laws and Government, it is a mere Calumny, and has not the probable appearance of an Accusation. For to say, that a blind Obedience should be a stronger Obligation than an ocular Duty, is all one as to affirm, that a Blind Man with a Guide, treads surer than he that has the use of Light and Eyes. Nay, without all Controversy, the Arts soften the Manners, make them tender, obsequious, pliable, and ductile to the Commands of Power ; whereas Ignorance on the other hand, makes them Contumacious, Refractory, and Mutinous : And this appears clearly by History, considering that the most un-learned

learned, rude, and barbarous Times, have been most subject to Tumults, Seditions, and Changes.

A S to the Judgment of *Cato the Censor*, so much I shall say, that he was well punish'd for his Blasphemy against Learning ; for when he was past Threescore Years of Age, he was taken with an extreme Desire to go to School again, and to learn the *Greek Tongue*, in order to read the *Greek Authors* ; which demonstrates, that his former Censure of the *Grecian Learning*, was rather an affected Gravity, than the inward Sense of his own Opinion.

A S to *Virgil's Verses*, tho' he took a fancy to insult the World, in asserting to the *Romans* the Arts of Empire, and leaving all the rest to others as popular and servile ; yet so much is manifest, that the *Romans* never ascended to the Pinnacle of Empire, till the Time they had ascended to the Height of Arts. For in the Time of the two first *Cæsars*, Men of the greatest Perfection in the Art of Government, there lived Contemporaries ; the best Poet, *Virgilius Maro* ; the best Historian, *Titus Livius* ; the best Antiquary, *Marcus Varro* ; and the best, or second best Orator, *Marcus Cicero* ; the greatest Men no doubt, each in their Faculties, that to the Memory of Man are known.

LASTLY, for the Accusation of *Socrates*, I shall only say, the Time must be remembred, when it was prosecuted, namely, under the Thirty Tyrants, of all Mortals the bloodiest, the wickedest, and most unworthy of Government : Which Revolution of State and Time was no sooner over, but the same *Socrates*, whom they had made a Person Criminal, was made a Person Heroical, and his Memory accumulated and crown'd with all Honours Divine and Human ; and those Discourses of his, before esteem'd corrupters of Manners, were celebrated by all Posterity for most sovereign Medicines of Mind and Manners. And let this serve for Answer to Politicks, who in their supercilious Severity, or in their counterfeit Gravity, have presumed to throw their Reproaches and Affronts upon Learning.

C H A P. III.

*Of the Discredits of LEARNING,
from Learned Men's Fortunes, Man-
ners, and Nature of Studies.*

De Augmentis Scientiarum. Ibid.



OW are we come to the Third sort of Discredit, that redounds to Learning from Learned Men themselves, and That commonly sticks faster than the rest. That derives its Original either from their Fortune, or their Manners, or the Nature of their Studies. The First of which is out of their Power, the Second Accidental, and not to the Purpose ; so that the Third only seems properly to fall into Inquiry. Yet because the Debate in hand is not so much concerning the true Weight of Things, as of Popular Opinion, it will not be amiss to insinuate somewhat also of the Two other.

THE Derogations therefore, and Diminutions, or Discredits, that are cast upon Learning from the Fortune of Learned Men, are taken either from their Poverty and scarcity of Living, or from their obscure and private Course of Life, or from the Meanness of the Employments wherein they are conversant.

AS to Poverty, and that it frequently happens, that Learned Men are Indigent, and commonly begin with little, and do not grow Rich so fast as other Men, who mind nothing but Lucre; it were adviseable to leave this Common-Place, in Praise of Poverty to the *Mendicant Friars* to adorn; (if by their leaves I may be so bold) to whom *Machiavell* attributed much, when he said, 'That the Kingdom of the Priests had long since been at an end, if Reverence towards the Poverty of Friars and Monks, had not compensated for the Luxury and Excesses of Prelates.' So may a Man say, That the Felicity and Magnificence of Princes and Great Persons had possibly long ago sunk into Barbarism and Rudeness, if they had not been obliged to those poor Learned Men for the Civility, and Honour of Life. But without any such hunting after Encomiums, it is worthy Observation, what a sacred and venerable Thing Poverty it self was

was esteemed, for some Ages, among the *Romans*, which nevertheless was a State without Paradoxes. For thus saith *Titus Livius* in his Introduction ; ‘ Either my Affection
‘ to the Work I have undertaken, deceives
‘ me, or never was there Common-Wealth,
‘ either more Mighty than the *Roman*, or
‘ more Holy and Devout, or more richly furnish’d with good Presidents ; or which Avarice and Excess so late invaded ; or wherein Poverty and Parsimony were so greatly
‘ and so long honoured. In short, the more
‘ they wanted, the less they desired.

MOREOVER, after the *Roman* State had now degenerated, we read, that when *Cæsar* the Dictator profess’d a Restoration of the ruin’d State, one of his Confidants told him, That the most compendious Way to his Design, would be to take away, by whatever means, the Esteem of Riches. ‘ But,
‘ (says he) these, and all other Evils will
‘ cease, together with the Reputation of Money, if neither Offices, nor any other Things,
‘ that commonly appear so desirable, be exposed to Sale.

TO conclude, as it was truly said, That Blushing was the Colour of Virtue, tho’ sometimes it come from Vice ; so you may truly say, That Poverty is the Fortune of Virtue, tho’ sometimes it proceeds from Lux-

ury and Mismanagement. Surely this is *Solomon's Judgment*, *He that hasteth to be Rich, shall not be Innocent* ; and his Precept, *Buy the Truth, and sell it not ; also Knowledge and Prudence*. Judging it right and good, that Riches should be employ'd to get Learning, not Learning apply'd to hoard Riches.

TO what purpose should we speak of the *Privateness and Obscurity of Life*, that they object to *Learned Men* ? It is a Theme so trite, and banded about by all, to extol *Leisure and Retirement* (not accompany'd with *Sloth and Luxury*) before a civil and active Life, for *Security, Liberty, Sweetness, Dignity*, or at least *Freedom from Indignities*, that no Man handles this Subject, but handles it well. This only I shall add, that *Learned Men* lying close in States, and not living in the Eyes of Men, are like the Images of *Cassius and Brutus*, of which, not being carried, as many other were, at the Funeral of *Julia*, *Tacitus* saith, *Eo ipso præfulgebant, quod non visebantur* ; They out-shone the rest for this very reason, because they did not appear.

As to the *Meanness of Employment* assigned to *Learned Men*, this is chiefly objected, that the Education of Children and Youth is allotted to them, the *Disesteem* of which Age, because it is the Age of least

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Authority, is cast upon the Masters themselves. But how unjust this Disparagement is, if the Thing be weigh'd, not according to popular Opinion, but sound Judgment, we may take an Estimate from hence, that Men are more careful what they put into a new Vessel, than into a Vessel season'd, and are more curious what Mould they lay about a young Plant, than about a Plant corroborate; from whence it is evident, that the principal Care is about the Beginnings of Things and Bodies. Hearken, if you please, to the Rabbies, *Your young Men shall see Visions, and your old Men shall dream Dreams.* From this Text they gather, That Youth is the worthier Age, by how much Revelation is more clear by Visions, than by Dreams. And this is well worth the noting, that however Pedagogues, have run the Devision of Theatres, as the Apes of Tyranny, and that the modern Times have been negligent, and as it were asleep as to the Choice of School-Masters, and Tutors; yet it hath been an antient Complaint, deliver'd down even from the best and wisest Ages, that States are too busy as to their Laws, and too negligent in point of Education. Which most noted Part of antient Discipline, has in some sort been brought back again, by way of Recovery, as it were, in the Colleges of the *Jesuits*, whose Industry and Acuteness, when I consider, as well in the Culture of Learning,

ing, as in the Formation of Manners ; That of *Agésilas* touching *Pharnabazus*, comes in to my mind, *Talis cum sis, utinam noster esses* ; ' Since thou art so excellent, I wish thou wert one of us. ' And thus much for the Discredits drawn from the Fortunes, and Condition of Learned Men.

AS to the *Manners* of Learned Men, that is a Thing rather Personal, than belonging to Studies and Learning. And no doubt there are found amongst them, as in all Orders and Professions of Life, bad as well as good ; but yet it is never the less true, what is asserted, *Abire studia in Mores*, That Studies have an influence upon the Manners, and that Letters, unless they meet with very deprav'd Indispositions, reform Nature intirely, and change it for the better.

BUT upon an attentive, and impartial View, I can't find any Disgrace that adheres to Learning, from the Manners of Learned Men, as they are Learned, unless it be imputed to them as a Fault (which *Demosthenes*, *Cicero*, *Cato* the Second, *Seneca*, and many more are accused of) that because the Times, they read of, are commonly better than those they live in, and the Duties taught, better than the Duties practised ; they contend beyond what is convenient, to reduce the Corruption of Manners to the Hone-

Honesty of Precepts, and receiv'd Opinions, and to impose the Laws of antient Severity, upon dissolute Times ; of which nevertheless they have Caveats enow in their own Walks. For Solon, when he was asked, *Whether he had given his Citizens the best Laws.* The best, says he, of such as they were disposed to receive. So Plato, finding that the Manners of his Country-Men were too corrupt for him to bear, abstain'd from all publick Office, saying, *That a Man's Country is to be dealt with as his Parents ; that is, by Persuasion, not Violence ; by humbly entreating, not contesting.* And Cæsar's Counsellor puts in the same Caveat, saying, *Non ad vetera Instituta revocans, quæ jam pridem corruptis Moribus ludibrio sunt :* ' Not reducing Things to the antient Customs, which have been long since laught at upon the Degeneracy of our Manners. ' Cicero also notes this Error in Cato the Second, writing to his Friend Atticus : Cato (says he) has most excellent Notions, but he sometimes hurts the State ; for he speaks as in the Commonwealth of Plato, and not as in the Dregs of Romulus. The same Cicero, by a soft Interpretation, excuses the rigid Sayings, and Placits of the Philosophers : ' Those very Preceptors and Teachers (says he) seem to have stretcht out the Line and Limits of Duties somewhat beyond what Nature requir'd ; that when we had strain'd our Soul

‘ Soul to reach the highest Point of Pefec-
 ‘ tion, we might however rest and make a
 ‘ stand, where it is meet. ’ And yet he
 himself might have said, *Monitis sum minor*
ipse meis ; ‘ I am not able to take my own
 ‘ Advice : ’ For he stumbled at the same
 Stone, tho’ not in so extreme a Degree.

ANOTHER Fault which is perhaps de-
 servedly objected to Learned Men, is this,
 That they have post-pon’d their own For-
 tunes, or Safeties, to the Honour or Ad-
 vantage of their Countries, or Masters. For
 so *Demosthenes* to his *Athenians*, ‘ My Coun-
 ‘ sels (says he) if ye note it well, are not
 ‘ such whereby I may grow great amongst
 ‘ you, and your selves become little amongst
 ‘ the *Grecians* ; but of that Nature as are
 ‘ sometimes not safe for me to give, but al-
 ‘ ways good for you to follow. ’ So *Seneca*,
 after he had consecrated that *Quinquen-*
nium Neronis (Five Years of *Nero*) to the
 eternal Glory of learned Preceptors, held
 on his Course of free and bold Counsel to
 his Master, now grown extremely Corrupt
 by all manner of Vice, to his own great
 Peril, and at last Ruin. Neither can it o-
 therwise be, for Learning seasons Men’s
 Minds with a true Sense of their own Frail-
 ty, and Instability of Fortune, the Dignity
 of their Soul, and of their own Duty ;
 which Things when they think of, they
 can

can by no means persuade themselves, that any Advancement of their own Fortunes can be set down as a true and worthy End of their Being. Wherefore they so live, as Persons ready to give up their Account to God, and to their Masters under God, whether Kings or States, in this Form of Words, *Ecce tibi lucrifeci*: (*Behold I have gained for thee*) and not in that, *Ecce mihi lucrifeci*, (*Behold I have gained for my self.*) But the Herd of Politicians, that have not their Thoughts train'd up and establish'd in the Doctrin of Duties, and the Contemplation of universal Good, refer all things to themselves, carrying themselves as if they were the Center of the World, and that the Concurrence of all Lines ought to touch in them, and their Fortunes ; never troubling their Heads what becomes of the Ship of the Republick, tho' tost by Tempests, provided they can but retreat and save themselves in the Cock-Boat of their own Fortune.

ON the contrary, Men that feel the Weight of Duty, and understand the Limits of Self-Love, make good their Places and Stations, tho' with Peril. And if they chance to stand in Seditions, and Alterations of Government, it is to be attributed not to any Arts, or versatil temporizing Dispositions in them, but to that Reverence, which Probi-
ty

ty extorts even from Enemies. But as to constancy of Faith, and tender Sense and religious Observation of Duty, which Erudition doth certainly plant in the Minds of Men, however Fortune may sometimes tax and amerce them, or Politicians, from unsound corrupt Principles, may condemn them, yet they will certainly carry a publick Commendation from all Men ; so that in this Point, there needs no long Defence.

ANOTHER Fault there is ordinary with Learned Men, (and which may sooner be excused than denied) namely this ; that they do not easily apply and accommodate themselves to Persons, with whom they Negotiate, or Live : Which Defect ariseth from two Causes : The First is the Largeness and Greatness of their Soul, upon the account of which they can hardly stoop to the Observance of any one Man. It is a Speech for a Lover, not for a Wise Man, *Satis magnum alter alteri Theatrum sumus*, ' We are ' a Theatre of Pleasure and Entertainment, ' large enough, the one to the other. ' Nevertheless I shall yield, that he that cannot contract the Sight of the Mind, like that of the Eye, as well as dilate it, is destitute of a notable Faculty for the management of Business. But the Second Cause is the Probity and Simplicity of their Manners ; which

which argues Choice and Judgment, not Defect and Inability in them. For the true and just Bounds of observance towards any Person, extend no further, than so to understand his Temper, as to be able to converse with him without Offence, and to assist him, if occasion be, with Counsel, and in the mean time to take care of ourselves in all Points : But to speculate into another Man's Affections; to the end to work him, wind him, and turn him about at Pleasure, is not the part of an ingenuous Nature, but of a crafty, and cloven-hearted Man ; which as in Friendship, it is want of Integrity, so towards Princes or Superiors, is want of Duty. For the Custom of the *Levant*, where it is accounted a heinous Offence, to gaze and fix their Eyes upon their Princes, in the outward Ceremony indeed is barbarous, but in the Moral good : For it becomes not Subjects, by curious Observation, to pierce and penetrate into the Hearts of Kings, which the Scripture declares to be *Inscrutable*.

THERE is yet another Fault (with which I will conclude this Part) often imputed to Learned Men ; namely, that in small and outward Matters (as Countenance, Gesture, Gate, ordinary Discourse, and the like) they fail many times in observing Decency ; from whence ignorant Men make a Judgment from those minute and trivial Miscalriages,

carriages, how great their Errors must be in the management of more important Matters. But this Consequence does generally deceive them ; therefore let them know, that *The-mistocles* has given them their Answer, who being ask'd to touch a *Lute*, answer'd arrogantly enough as to his own Person, but very appositely to the Purpose in hand ; *That he could not Fiddle indeed, but he knew well enough, by what Means a small Town might become a great State.*

AND there are, no doubt, many singularly skilful in the Arts of Policy, who notwithstanding are strangely to seek in common Life, and ordinary Matters of no Weight. Such Scoffers also are to be referr'd to *Plato's* Elogy of his Master *Socrates*, whom he compar'd to the Gally-Pots of Apothecaries, which on the out-sides were drawn with Apes, Owls, and Anticks ; but contained within pretious Liquors, and noble Medicaments ; acknowledging, that to vulgar Capacity, and popular Report, he was not without some superficial Levities, and even Deformities, but was inwardly replenish'd with most excellent Faculties and Virtues. And so much for the *Manners* of Learned Men.

IN the mean time, I think good to advertise, That I intend nothing less than to
Patro-

Patronize certain abject and base Practices of Professors of Learning, whereby they have discredited both themselves and Letters ; such as were, in the latter Age of the *Roman* State, certain Trencher-Philosophers, in the Families of wealthy Persons, whom you may not improperly call *solemn Parasites* : One of which kind *Lucian* makes a merry Description of, whom a noble Matron would needs have carry her Lap-Dog in the Coach with her ; which he doing officiously, but aukwardly, the Page scoffing, *I am afraid* (says he) *our Philosopher of a Stoick will turn Cynick.*

BUT above all the rest, nothing has so much prejudic'd the Dignity of Letters, as the gross and scandalous Flattery, whereunto many (and those not Unlearned) have abased their Wits and Pens, transforming *Hecuba* into *Helena*, and *Faustina* into *Lucretia*, (as *Du-Bartas* says.)

NEITHER, indeed, do I over-much commend that receiv'd Custom of Dedicating Books to Patrons ; for that Books (such as are worthy the Name of Books) ought to have no Patrons but Truth and Reason. The Custom of the Antients was better, who were wont to Dedicate their Writings to none but Friends and Equals ; or to entitle their Treatises with the Names of such

Friends : Or if they Dedicated to Kings, or Great Persons, 'twas then only done, when the Argument of the Book was fit and proper for such a Person. But these, and the like Courses, may deserve rather Reprehension, than Defence.

NOR say I this, as if I condemn'd Learned Men, for applying themselves sometimes to Men of Fortune, and Power : For to one that ask'd in mockery, *How it came to pass that Philosophers were the Followers of rich Men, and not rich Men of Philosophers ;* the Answer that Diogenes made was right and sharp ; *That it was, because Philosophers knew well what they had need of, but rich Men did not.* A-kin to this, is that of Aristippus, when having a Petition to Dionysius, and no Ear given to him, he threw himself at his Feet in manner of an Adorer, upon which, at last, he gave him the hearing, and granted his Petition : But a little after, some Person tender of the Honour and Credit of Philosophy, reprov'd Aristippus, that he should offer the Profession of Philosophy such an Indignity, as for such an inconsiderable Matter to fall at a Tyrant's Feet ; to whom he reply'd, *That it was not his Fault, but Dionysius's, that had his Ears in his Feet.* Neither was it accounted Weakness, but Discretion in him, that suffer'd himself to be worsted in a certain Disputation

Of the Discredits of Learning. 37

tion with *Adrianus Cæsar* ; excusing the Fact,
That it was but reason to yield to One that
commanded Thirty Legions. Learned Men,
therefore, must not be condemned, when,
upon occasion, they abate somewhat of their
Gravity, whether in Point of Necessity, or
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C H A P. IV.

*Discredits of LEARNING from
Learned Men's Studies, &c.*

De Augmentis Scientiarum. Ibid.



ET us now proceed to those Errors and Vanities, which intervene in the Studies themselves of the Learned, and mix with them ; wherein my Design is not to justify the Errors, but by a Censure and Separation of them, to sift out that which is sound and solid, and to deliver the same from Calumny. For we see it is the Custom, especially of envious Men, upon the account of what is corrupt and depraved, to traduce also that which is untainted, and hath retain'd its State ; as the Heathens in the Primitive Church used to blemish the Christians with the Faults and

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Corruptions of the Hereticks. Nevertheless, I purpose not to make any exact Animadversion upon the Errors and Impediments of Learning, which are more secret and remote from vulgar Capacity ; but only to speak to such as fall under common and popular Observation, and Note, or at least do not recede far from it.

I find therefore chiefly three Vanities and Emptinesses in Learning, which have principally given a handle to the Traducing of it. For we esteem those Things Vain, which are either False, or Frivolous ; wherein, that is, there is either no Truth, or no Use : Those Persons also we esteem Vain and Light, who are either Credulous in Things False, or Curious in Things of little Use. And Curiosity is either in Matter, or Words ; that is, when either Labour is spent in Vain Matters, or too much Pains taken about Delicacy of Words. Wherefore it seems agreeable as well to right Reason, as to approv'd Experience, to set down Three Distempers of Learning. The First is, *Phantastical Learning* ; the Second, *Contentious Learning* ; the Third, *Painted and Delicate Learning*. Or thus ; *Vain Imaginations, Vain Altercations, Vain Affectations* ; and with the last I shall begin.

DELICATE LEARNING.

THE Distemper seated in superfluity and profuseness of Speech (tho' in Times past, by turns, it was held in some Esteem) about *Luther's* Time, prevailed wonderfully. The principal Reason was, the Heat and Efficacy of Preaching, to sooth and entice the People, which about that Time flourish'd hugely; and this required a popular kind of Expression. Another Reason was, The Hatred and Contempt that grew up in those very Times, towards the School-Men, who used a very different Stile, and Form of Expression, taking an excessive Liberty to Coyn new and rugged Terms, without regard to the Ornament and Elegancy of Speech, so they might avoid Circumlocution, and deliver their Sense and Conceptions with acuteness; and so it came to pass a little after, that greater Care generally began to be taken of Words than Matter; most affecting rather Comptness of Phrase, Roundness of Period, the sweet-falling of the Clauses, and the sparkling of Tropes and Figures, than the Weight of Matter, the Soundness of Argument, the Life of Invention, or Exactness of Judgment. Then first flourish'd the luxuriant and watry Vein of *Orosius*, the *Portugall* Bishop. Then did *Sturmius* spend such infinite and anxious Pains upon *Cicero* the Orator,

Orator, and *Hermogenes* the Rhetorician. Then did our *Car* and *Ascham*, in their Lectures and Writings, extol *Cicero* and *Demosthenes* even to the Skies, and invite young Men to this polite and flourishing kind of Learning. Then did *Erasmus* take occasion to bring in that scoffing *Eccho*, *Decem Annos consumpsi in legendo Cicerone*; *I have spent ten Years in reading Cicero*: To which the *Eccho* answer'd, *One, Ass*. Then began the Learning of the School-Men to be utterly despised, as rough and barbarous. In short, the chief Inclination and Bent of those Times, was rather to Plenty than Weight.

HERE then we see the first Distemper of Learning, when, as we have said, Men study Words, not Matter; of which tho' I have brought Examples of late Times only, yet such Impertinencies have taken more or less, both in Times past, and will again hereafter. Now it is not possible, but that this very Thing should tend much to the Discredit and Disparagement of Learning, even with the ignorant Vulgar, when they see Learned Men's Writings like the first Letter of a Patent, which tho' it be limned and drawn out with various Turns and Flourishes of the Pen, yet is it but one single Letter. And to me indeed *Pigmalion's Frenzy* seems a very apposite Representation, and Emblem, as it were, of this

F 4 Vanity.

Vanity ; for what else are Words but the Images of Things, so that unless they be animated with the Spirit of Reason, to fall in love with them, is all one as to fall in love with a Picture.

BUT yet notwithstanding it is a Thing not hastily to be condemn'd, for a Man to illustrate and smoothe the Obscurities and Roughnesses of Philosophy with the Splendor of Words. For we have great Examples of this, in *Zenophon*, *Cicero*, *Seneca*, *Plutarch*, and even *Plato* himself ; and the Usefulness of it is as great. For although this Thing may be some hindrance to a severe Inquisition of Truth, and a deep Study of Philosophy, because it is too early satisfactory to the Mind, and quenches the Thirst and Ardor of farther Search ; yet if a Man applies his Learning to Civil Uses, (as Conference, Counsel, Persuasion, Arguing, and the like) he will find all that he desires, prepared and set out to his hand, in such Authors. However the Excess of this is so justly contemptible, that as *Hercules*, when he saw in a Temple the Image of *Adonis*, *Venus* Minion, said in Indignation, *Nil sacri es* ; (*Thou art nothing sacred*) so all *Herculean* Champions in Learning, that is, the more laborious and steady Enquirers into Truth, will naturally despise such Delicacies and Fopperies, as having nothing Divine in them. SOME-

SOMEWHAT more sound is another kind of Stile (yet neither is That altogether exempt from Vanity) which near about the same Time succeeded this Copy, and Superfluity of Speech. That consists altogether in this, that the Words be aculeate, the Sentences concise, the Contexture of the Speech, in fine, rather returning into it self, than spread and dilated; so that it comes to pass by this Artifice, that every Passage seems more ingenious, than indeed it is. Such a Stile as this we find more excessively in *Seneca*, more moderately in *Tacitus* and *Plinius Secundus*; and not long since it began to be pleasing to the Ears of our own Time. But this very Stile is wont to find acceptance with ordinary Capacities (so as to be a kind of Dignity and Ornament to Learning) nevertheless, by the more exact Judgments, it is deservedly nauseated, and may be set down as a *Distemper of Learning*, since it is nothing else but a hunting after Words, and the Finery and Quaintness of the same. And thus much of the First Distemper of Learning.

CONTENTIOUS LEARNING.

NOW follows the Distemper in the Matter it self, which we placed Second, and design'd by the Name of *Contentious Subtilty*.
And

And this is somewhat worse than that, of which we spake but now. For as Substantialness of Matter excels Ornament of Words, so on the contrary, Vanity of Matter is more odious than Vanity of Words. Wherein, that Reprehension of *St. Paul* may refer as well to the following Times, as to his own Age; and seems to respect not only Divinity, but all Sciences also: *Avoid profane Novelties of Words, and Oppositions of Science falsely so called.* Tim. i. v. 20. For in these Words he alledges two Marks and Badges of suspected and falsified Science. The first is the *Novelty* and *Strangeness* of *Terms*; the other, the *Rigor* and *Strictness* of *Positions*, which must needs occasion Opposition, and then Altercations and Questions.

CERTAINLY as many Natural Substances, which are solid and entire, so long as they are in a State of Perfection, do many times corrupt and pass into Worms; after the same manner, sound and solid Knowledge, often-times putrifies, and dissolves into subtle, vain, unwholsome, and (if I may so speak) *Vermiculate* Questions; which seem indeed to have a kind of Motion and Quickness in them, but are unsavory, and of no Use.

THIS kind of unsound and self-corrupting Learning, prevail'd chiefly amongst the School-Men, who having abundance of Leisure, sharp and strong Wits, but small Variety of Reading (their Understandings being shut up within the Writings of a few Authors, especially *Aristotle*, their Dictator, as their Persons were in the Cells of Monasteries) and for the most part ignorant of the History, as well of Nature as Time ; did out of no great Quantity of Matter, but infinite Agitation of Wit and Spirit, spin out unto us those most laborious Webs of Learning, which are extant in their Books. For the Mind of Man, (if it work upon Matter, by contemplating the Nature of Things, and the Works of God) works according to the Stuff, and is limited by the same ; but if it turns inward, and works upon it self (like the Spider weaving his Web) then is it endless, and brings forth indeed Cobwebs of Learning, admirable for fineness of Thread and Work, but as to Use, frivolous, and of no Substance.

THIS same unprofitable Subtilty, or Curiosity, is Two-fold : And is seen either in the Subject it self, such as is a fruitless Speculation, or Controversy (of which Kind there are no small Number both in *Divinity* and *Philosophy*) or in the Manner and

and Method of Handling ; which amongst the School-Men was generally this. Upon every Position or Assertion they formed Objections, then Solutions of those Objections ; which Solutions, for the most part, were only Distinctions : Whereas, indeed, the Strength of all Sciences, like the old Man's Fagot, consisteth not in every Stick asunder, but in all together united in the Band. For the Harmony of a Science, that is, when each Part mutually supports the other, is, and ought to be, the true and expedite Way of confuting all the smaller sort of Objections : But on the other side, if you take out every Axiom, as the Sticks of a Fagot, one by one severally, you may easily disprove them, and bend and break them at pleasure. So that what was said of *Seneca*, *He breaks the Weight of Matter by the little Niceties of Words*, may truly be said of the School-Men, *They break the Solidity of Sciences by the little Niceties of Questions*. Were it not better in a spacious Hall to set up one great Light, or to hang up a Branch furnish'd with divers Lights, whereby all may be seen at once, than to go up and down with a small Watch-Candle into every Corner ? And such is their Method, who do not so much endeavour to illustrate Truth by clear Arguments, Authorities, Comparisons, and Examples ; as they labour to take out every minute Scruple, and to answer captious

captious Cavils, and to solve Doubts ; by this means breeding Question out of Question, even as in the Comparison above, of the Light, when you carry it into one Place, you forsake, and darken all the rest. So that the Fable of *Scylla* expresses to the Life this kind of Philosophy, whose Face and Breast resembled a beautiful Virgin, but below they say she was,

Candida succin&lam latrantibus inguina monstros.

*A beauteous Maid above, but Magick Arts,
With barking Dogs deform'd her nether Parts.*
Dryden.

SO you shall find certain Generals, amongst the School-Men, that are handsomly said, and not invented amiss ; but when you descend to their Distinctions and Decisions, instead of a fruitful Womb, for the benefit of human Life, they end in monstrous and barking Questions.

THEREFORE it is no marvel, if this kind of Learning fall under, even the Contempt of the Vulgar, who are generally wont to despise Truth upon the account of Controversies raised about it, and think they are all out of the Way who never meet : And when they see the Scuffles of Learned Men one with another, about Matters of no Moment,

Moment, they easily catch up that Saying of *Dionysius* of *Syracuse*, *Verba ista sunt senum otiosorum*; This is nothing but the Tattle of old Men and Women, that have nothing else to do. Notwithstanding most certain it is, That if the School-Men, to their unquenchable Thirst of Truth, and continual working of their Wit, had joyn'd Variety and Multiplicity of Reading, and Contemplation, they had doubtless prov'd distinguishing Lights, to the wonderful Advancement of all Arts and Sciences. And so much for the *Second Disease of Learning*.

PHANTASTICAL LEARNING.

FOR the *Third Disease*, which relates to Falsity and Untruth; this is of all other the Foulest, as being that which destroys the very Nature and Soul of Knowledge, which is nothing else but the Image of Truth. For the *Truth of Being*, and the *Truth of Knowing*, are all one; nor do they differ more from one another, than the Direct Beam, and the Beam Reflected. This Vice, therefore, brancheth it self into two sorts, *Imposture*, and *Credulity*: This is Deceiv'd, That Deceives; which altho' they appear to be of a different Nature, the one seeming to proceed from Craft, the other from Simplicity, yet for the most part they concur. For as the Verse has it,

Per-

Percontatorem fugito, nam Garrulus idem est.

Intimating, that an *Inquisitive* Person is a *Pratler* also ; so upon the like reason, he that is apt to *Believe*, is apt to *Deceive*. As we see it also in *Fame*, and *Rumors*, that he that easily believes them, will as easily augment and add to them. Which *Tacitus* wisely hints in these Words, *They Invent, and Believe at once* : So great an Affinity is there between a Propensity to *Deceive*, and a Facility to *Believe*.

THIS Facility of Believing, and admitting all things, tho' weakly authorized, or warranted, is of two Kinds, according to the Nature of the Subject-Matter : For we either Believe Story, or Matter of Fact, (as the Lawyers speak) or else Matter of Opinion and Position. As to the former Kind, we see how much this Error has discredited, and derogated from some Ecclesiastical Histories ; which have been too easy in Registering and Transcribing Miracles wrought by Martyrs, Hermits, Anchorites, and other Holy Men, and by their Reliques, Sepulchres, Chappels, and Images.

SO in Natural History, we may see many Things rashly, and with little Choice, or Judgment, receiv'd and registred ; as appears

pears by the Writings of *Pliny*, *Cardanus*, *Albertus*, and divers of the *Arabians*, which are every where fraught with forged and fabulous Stories ; and those not only uncertain and untried, but notoriously untrue, and manifestly convicted ; to the huge Discredit of Natural Philosophy, with grave and sober Men. Wherein, in truth, the Wisdom and Integrity of *Aristotle* shines forth, who having wrote a diligent and exquisite History of *Living Creatures*, hath mingled it so sparingly with feign'd or fabulous Matter ; but rather than do that, he has cast all the *Prodigious Reports*, which he thought worthy Recording, into one Commentary : Excellently discerning that Matter of manifest Truth (which like a solid experimental Basis, might serve as a Foundation for Philosophy and Sciences to be built upon) was not unadvisedly to be mingled with Matter of doubtful Credit ; and yet again, that things rare and strange, which to most People seem incredible, are not wholly to be suppressed, or to be denied to the Records of Posterity.

BUT that other Credulity, which is yielded, not to History, or Reports, but to Arts and Opinions, is likewise of two Sorts : Either when we give too much Credit to the Arts themselves, or to the Authors in any Art.

THE Arts themselves, which have had more Intelligence and Confederacy with Imagination and Belief, than with Reason and Demonstration, are chiefly Three, *Astrology*, *Natural Magick*, and *Alchymy*; the Ends of which Sciences however are Noble. For *Astrology* professes to discover that Correspondence or Concatenation, which is between the Superior Globe and the Inferior. *Natural Magick* pretendeth to call and reduce Natural Philosophy from Variety of Speculations, to the Magnitude of Works. *Alchymy* undertakes to separate and extract the Heterogeneous and unlike Parts of Things, which are hid and incorporate in Natural Bodies, and to refine and depurate Bodies themselves, that are stained and soiled; to set at liberty such as are bound and imprisoned; and to bring to perfection such as are unripe. But the Ways and Methods which are presumed to lead to these Ends, both in the Theory and in the Practice of those Arts, are full of Error and Trifling. Yet surely to *Alchymy* this Right is due, that it may truly be compared to the Husbandman in *Æsop*, who being about to depart this Life, told his Sons, *That he had left them a great Quantity of Gold, buried in his Vineyard, but did not remember the particular Place*: Who when they had with Spades diligently turn'd up all the Vineyard, Gold indeed they found

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none, however, by reason of their stirring and digging the Mold about the Roots of their Vines, they had a very great Vintage the Year following. So the strenuous Pains, and mighty Stir of Chymists, about making Gold, have open'd the Way to a great Number of noble Inventions, and Experiments, singularly adapted, as well to the disclosing of Nature, as to the Uses of Human Life.

NOW as for that Credulity, which has invested certain Authors of Sciences with a kind of *Dictatorian* Power to give Law; not *Senatorian*, to give Advice: This has been of infinite Damage to Sciences, as the principal Cause that has depress'd and kept them so low, that they have been heartless without any notable Growth or Advancement. For hence it hath come to pass, that in Arts Mechanical, the first Projectors have been short in their Inventions, and Time has supplied and perfected the rest; but in Sciences, the first Authors have gone furthest, and Time has impair'd and corrupted much. So we see Artillery, Sailing, Printing, were in their Beginnings imperfect, and in a manner formless, and grossly managed; but in progress of Time, accommodated and refined. But contrariwise, the Philosophies and Sciences of *Aristotle*, *Plato*, *Democritus*, *Hippocrates*, *Euclid*, *Archimedes*, were of most vigor under those very Authors, and in process

cess of Time degenerated rather, and lost much of their Lustre : Whereof the reason is no other, but that in Arts Mechanical the Wits of many have contributed and met in one; but in Liberal Arts and Sciences, the Wits of many have yielded and submitted to some one, whom yet his Followers many times have rather depraved than illustrated : For as Water will not ascend higher than the Spring-Head, from whence it flows ; so Knowledge derived from *Aristotle*, and exempted from Liberty of Examination, will never rise higher than the Knowledge of *Aristotle*. And therefore although I do not dislike the Rule, *oportet discipulum credere*, (*a Learner ought to believe*;) yet it must be coupled with this, *oportet jam doctum iudicio suo uti*, (*he that is well inform'd, ought to make Use of his own Judgment.*) For Disciples owe their Masters only a Temporary Belief, and a Suspension of their Judgment, till they have thoroughly learn'd the Arts ; and not an absolute Resignation of their Liberty, and a perpetual Bondage of their Understanding. Wherefore to conclude this Point, I will say no more than this : Let great Authors so have their due Honour, as that we do not derogate from Time, which is the Author of Authors, and Parent of Truth.

C H A P. V.

Peccant Humours in LEARNING.

De Augmentis Scientiarum. Ibid.



HUS have we at length laid open three Distempers or Diseases of Learning ; besides which there are some other, rather *peccant Humours*, than *confirm'd Diseases* ; which, nevertheless, are not so occult, or secret, but that they fall under a popular Observation and Censure, and therefore are by no means to be passed over.

THE First of these is an Affectation of two Extremes, *Antiquity* and *Novelty* : Wherein the Daughters of *Time* take after the Nature and Malice of the Father : For as *Time* devours his Children, so do these one another,

ther, whilst *Antiquity* envies new Improvements and Additions, and *Novelty* cannot be content to add Things recent, unless it utterly turn out and reject the old: Surely the Advice of the Prophet is the true Direction in this Case: *Stand ye upon the old Paths, and see where is the good and the right Way, and walk therein*; Jerem. vi. 16. *Antiquity* deserves so much Reverence, that Men should make a Stop a-while, and stand thereupon, and look about them on every Side, to discover which is the best Way: But when the Discovery is well taken, then not to rest there, but to advance chearfully. Indeed, to speak Truth, *Antiquity of Time is the World's Youth*. Certainly our Times are the Antient Times, the World being now grown Old, and not those, which are computed, *ordine retrogrado*, reckoning backward from our own Age.

ANOTHER Error, springing from the Former, is a Suspicion and Diffidence, which thinks, that it is not possible to find out any thing now, which the World could have been so long without; as if the same Objection might be made to Time, wherewith *Lucian* attacks *Jupiter*, and the rest of the Heathen Gods: For he wonders they should beget so many Children in old Time, and none in his: And asks merrily, Whether they were superannuated, or restrain'd by the *Papian* Law

G 3

Law made against Old Men's Marriages. So Men seem to be apprehensive, that Time is become *Effete*, and past Children. Whereas on the other hand, we may easily discover here the Levity and Inconstancy of Men, who, 'till a Thing is done, think it impossible; and as soon as it is done, wonder it had not been done long before. Thus *Alexander's* Expedition into *Asia*, was judg'd at first, as a vast, and exceeding difficult Enterprize; which, nevertheless, afterwards it pleas'd *Livy* to make so slight of, as to say of *Alexander*, *He did but bravely venture to despise idle Opinions*. And the same happened to *Columbus* in the Western Navigation. But in intellectual Matters, this is much more common, as may be seen in most of the Propositions in *Euclid*, which, before they are demonstrated, seem strange, and not easily to be assented to; but after Demonstration, the Mind embraces them by a kind of Recognizance, (as the Lawyers speak) as if it had understood and known them before.

ANOTHER Error, of Affinity with the Former, is a Conceit of those who think, that of all Sects, and antient Opinions, after they had been examined and sifted, the best still prevail'd, and suppress'd the rest. Wherefore they conceive, if a Man should begin his Search and Examination a-new, he must needs light upon some Opinions that
had

had been rejected, and after Rejection, lost, and obliterated; as if the Multitude, or even wise Men, to gratify the Multitude, did not oftner approve that which is popular, and light, than that which is solid, and profound. For Time is of the Nature of a River, which carries down to us Things light and swoln, but sinks and drowns that which is solid and weighty.

ANOTHER Error different from the rest, is an over-early and peremptory Reduction of Knowledge into Arts and Methods; which when it happens, Sciences receive small or no Augmentation. Even as Young Men, when they are knit and perfectly shaped, scarce grow any more: So Knowledge, as long as it is dispers'd into Aphorisms and Observations, may grow and shoot up; but when once it is circumscribed and shut up in Methods, it may, perchance, be polish'd and illustrated, or plain'd out and accommodated for human Use, but it encreases no more in Bulk and Substance.

ANOTHER Error succeeding That, which we last mentioned, is, that after the Distribution of particular Arts and Sciences, into their several Classes, most Men have presently abandoned Universality of Knowledge, *Philosophia prima*; which is a deadly Enemy to the Progression of Sciences. For Prospects

are made from Turrets, or very high Places, and it is impossible for a Man to explore the more remote, and deeper Parts of any Science, if he stand but upon the Flat and Level of the same Science, and ascend not the Watch-Tower as it were of a higher Science.

ANOTHER Error flows from too great a Reverence, and a kind of Adoration of the Mind and Understanding of Man; by means whereof, Men have withdrawn themselves from the Contemplation of Nature, and the Observations of Experience, tumbling up and down in their own Speculations, and Conceits. But these noble Opinators, and (if I may so speak) Intellectualists, who are, notwithstanding, commonly taken for the most sublime and divine Philosophers; *Heraclitus* has rightly touch'd, *Men*, says he, *seek Truth in their own little Worlds, but not in the great World.* For they disdain the Alphabet as it were of Nature, and the *Primer* of the Divine Works; which if they did not do, they might, perhaps, by Steps and Degrees, after the Knowledge of simple Letters, and then Syllables, come at last, to read perfectly the Text and Volume of the Creatures it self. But they, contrariwise, by continual Meditation and Agitation of their Wit, urge, and as it were invoke their own Spirits, to divine,

vine, and give out Oracles unto them, by which they are deservedly and pleasingly deluded.

ANOTHER Error that hath some Connexion with this Latter, is, That Men many Times season and infect their Meditations, and Doctrines, with certain Opinions, and Conceits of their own, which they hold most in Admiration; or with some Sciences, to which they are most addicted and devoted; dying and tincturing as it were all other things with those Darlings of theirs, tho' a Paint very fallacious and deceivable. So hath *Plato* intermingled Theology in his Philosophy; *Aristotle* Logick; the second School of *Plato* (to wit, *Proclus* and the rest) Mathematicks. So have the Chymists forged a new Philosophy out of a few Experiments, the Fire; and Furnace. And *Gilbertus*, our Country-man, hath drawn a new Philosophy out of the Loadstone. So *Cicero*, when reciting the several Opinions concerning the Nature of the Soul, he had at last met with a Musician, who held the Soul to be Harmony, said pleasantly, *This Man was not for going out of his own Profession.* But of these sort of Errors, *Aristotle* says aptly, and wisely, *They that consider but few Things, are apt to pronounce, and to be dogmatical.*

ANO-

ANOTHER Error is an Impatience of Doubting, and a blind Haste to assert, without due and mature Suspension of Judgment. For the two Ways of Contemplation are not unlike the two Ways of Action, often mentioned by the Antients: The One, plain and smooth in the Beginning, but in the End impassible; the Other, rough and craggy in the Entrance, but when you have gone on a little, fair and even: So in Contemplation, if a Man begins with Certainties, he shall end in Doubts; but if he begin with Doubts, and has the Patience to bear them a-while, he shall end in Certainties.

A like Error discovers it self in the manner of delivering Knowledge, which, for the most part, is Imperious and Magisterial, not Ingenuous and Liberal; so contrived, as to command Assent rather, than to submit to Examination. I'll not deny, but that in compendious Treatises, design'd for Practice, that Form of Writing is to be retained: But in just and compleat Tractates of Sciences, both Extremes, in my Judgment, are to be avoided, as well that of *Velleius the Epicurean*, *Nil tam metuentis, quam ne dubitare de re aliqua videretur*, (*who fears nothing so much, as least he should seem to doubt about any Thing*;) as that of *Socrates*, and the Academy, that leave all Things in Doubt and

and Uncertainty. Men should rather affect Candour and Sincerity, and propound Things with more or less Affelevation, according as they are more weakly, or more fully proved by the Weight of Argument and Reason.

OTHER Errors there are in the Scope that Men propound to themselves, and to which they divert their Endeavours and Labours. For whereas the more diligent Learners, and more noted Professors of Learning, ought chiefly to make this their Aim, *viz.* The making some considerable Addition to the Art they profess; these Men on the other Side content themselves to be Seconds only; courting the Name either of a subtle Interpreter, or of a smart tough Antagonist, or of a methodical Abridger. From whence the Revenues and Tributes of Sciences come to be augmented, but not the Patrimony and Ground of Knowledge it self.

BUT the greatest Error of all the rest consists in deviating from the ultimate End of Knowledge. For Men desire and reach after Knowledge, some from an inbred and restless Curiosity; others for Entertainment and Delight; others for Reputation; others for the sake of Contention, and Victory in Dispute; most for Lucre, and Livelihood; very few to employ the Gift of Reason given by God, to the Benefit and Use of Mankind.

Just

Just for all the World as if there were sought in Learning a Couch, whereupon to rest a troubled and restless Spirit; or a Terrace for a wandering and variable Mind to walk upon and down upon at Liberty, and with a fair Prospect; or some high and eminent Tower for a proud ambitious Mind to raise it self upon; or a Citadel, and Fort for Contention and Battel; or a Ship for Trade and Merchandise; and not rather a rich Armory, and Store-house for the Glory of the Creator of all Things, and the Relief of Human Life. For this is that which would indeed dignify and exalt Learning and the Arts, if Contemplation and Action were more nearly and straitly conjoyned and united, than they have hitherto been. Which Combination would be like the Conjunction of the two highest Planets, when *Saturn*, the Planet of Quietude and Contemplation, conspires with *Jupiter*, the Planet of Society and Action. However when I speak of Practice and Action, I do not in the least mean Professory and Lucrative Learning: For I am not ignorant, how much that diverts and interrupts the Progression and Advancement of Knowledge like indeed the *Golden Apple* thrown before *Atalanta*, which while she stoops to take up the Race in the mean time is hinder'd.

Declinat cursus aurumq; volubile tollit.

Nor again is it my Meaning (as was said of *Socrates*) to call down Philosophy from Heaven to converse upon Earth only; that is, that Natural Philosophy should be laid aside, to the end that Moral and Political Philosophy only might be in Vogue: But as Heaven and Earth conspire and consent together for the Support and Delight of the Life of Man; so indeed should this be the End of both Philosophies, that vain Speculations, and whatever is empty and barren, being rejected, all that is solid and fruitful may be preserved; that so, Knowledge may not be a Courtesan for Pleasure, or a Hand-maid to Profit; but as a Spouse, for Generation, Fruit, and honest Comfort.

AND now, methinks, I have explain'd and laid open, as by a kind of Dissection, those peccant Humours (the principal of them at least) which have not only been an Impediment to the Proficiency of Learning, but have also given Occasion to the traducing of it. Which if I have done too much to the quick, it must be remember'd; *Faithful are the Wounds of a Friend; but the Kisses of an Enemy are deceitful*; Prov. xxvii. 6. However, this at least I seem to have gained, to deserve Belief in the following Encomium, since

since I have proceeded so freely in the preceding Censure. And yet I have no Purpose to write a Panegyrick of Learning, or to sing a Hymn to the *Muses*, (tho', perhaps, it is long since their Rites were duly celebrated: But my Intent is, without Varnish or Amplification, to take the just Weight of Knowledge, and to ballance it with other Things, and to search out the true Value and Price thereof from Testimonies Divine and Human

C H A P. VI.

Of the Dignity of L E A R N I N G.

De Augmentis Scientiarum. Ibid.



FIRST therefore let us seek the Dignity of Knowledge in the Archetype, or first Platform; that is, in the Attributes, and Acts of God, as far as they are revealed to Man, and may be search'd into with Sobriety. In which Matter, the Name of Learning is improper, since all Learning is Knowledge acquired; and no Knowledge in God is acquired, but Original. Therefore we must look out for some other Name; to wit, *Wisdom*; or *Sapience*, as the Holy Scriptures call it.

THE Matter then stands thus: In the Works of Creation, we see a double Emanation

tion of Divine Virtue, the one referring to Power, the other to Wisdom: The Former is chiefly seen in creating the Mass of Matter; the Latter, in disposing the Beauty of the Form. This being laid down, it is to be observ'd, that for any Thing which appears in the History of the Creation to the contrary, the confused Mass and Matter of Heaven and Earth was made in a Moment; yet the Disposition and Digesting of the same was the Work of six Days: So remarkable a Difference did it please God to put between the Works of Power, and the Works of Wisdom. Furthermore, as to the Creation of the Matter, it is not recorded, that God said, *Let there be Heaven and Earth*, as was said of the Works following; but simply and actually, *God made Heaven and Earth*. So that the Matter seems to be as a Manufacture, but the Introduction of Form carries the Style of a Law, or Decree.

LET us proceed from God to Angels, whose Nature, in Order of Dignity is next to God. We see in the Orders of Angels (so far as Credit is to be given to that Celestial Hierarchy, set forth under the Name of *Dionysius the Arcopagite*) that the *Seraphim*, that is, the Angels of Love, have the First Place; the Second, the *Cherubim*, Angels of Illumination; and that the Third, and following Places, are given to Thrones,

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Principalities, and the rest of the Angels of Power, and Ministry: So that from this very Order and Distribution, it appears, that the Angels of Knowledge, and Illumination, are placed before the Angels of Office and Domination.

TO descend from Spirits, and intellectual Natures, to sensible and material Forms, we read, that the first of created Forms was Light; which in Natural and Corporeal Things, has a Relation and Correspondence to Things Spiritual and Incorporeal.

SO in the Distribution of Days, we see the Day, wherein God rested, and contemplated his own Works, was blessed above all the Days, wherein the Fabrick of the Universe was created and disposed.

AFTER the Creation was finish'd, we read that Man was placed in Paradise, to Work there: Which Work could be no other, than what relates to Contemplation; that is, the End whereof could not refer to Necessity, but to Delight, and Exercise, without Vexation or Trouble: For there being then no possible Reluctance of the Creature, no *Sweat of the Brow*, Man's Employment must of consequence have been Matter of Pleasure and Contemplation, not of Labour or Work. Again, the first Acts which Man perform'd

in Paradise, consisted of the two summary Parts of Knowledge, the View of **Creatures**, and the Imposition of Names. As for the Knowledge which introduced the Fall, it was (as was touched before) not the Natural Knowledge of Creatures, but the Moral Knowledge of Good and Evil, wherein the Supposition was, that God's Commandments or Prohibitions were not the Originals of Good and Evil, but that they had other Beginnings which Man aspired to know, to the end, to make a total Defection from God, and to depend wholly upon himself.

LET us pass to the Things that happen'd immediately after the Fall. We see (as the sacred Scriptures have infinite Mysteries, without ever violating the Historical and Literal Truth) an Image of the two Estates, the Contemplative and Active, delineated in the Persons of *Abel* and *Cain*, and in their Professions, and primitive Ways of Life : Whereof the one was a Shepherd, who, by Reason of his Leisure, his Quiet, and free View of Heaven, is a Type of the Contemplative Life : The other, a Husbandman, that is, a Man fatigu'd with Labour, and his Countenance fix'd down upon the Earth : Where we may see that the Favour and Election of God went to the Shepherd, and not to the Tiller of the Ground.

SO

S O before the Flood, the holy Records (among the very few Occurrences register'd of that Age) have vouchsafed to deliver down to Posterity the Inventors of Musick, and Works in Mettal.

I N the next Age after the Flood, the great Judgment of God upon the 'Pride of Man, was the Confusion of Tongues, whereby the free Trade of Learning, and Intercourse of Letters, was chiefly cut off.

L E T us descend to *Moses*, the Law-Giver, and God's first Notary, whom the Scriptures adorn with this Elogy, *That he was seen in all the Learning of the Egyptians.* Which Nation was reckon'd one of the most antient Schools of the World: For so *Plato* brings in the *Egyptian* Priest saying to *Solon*; *You Grecians are ever Children, having no Knowledge of Antiquity, nor Antiquity of Knowledge.* Take a View of the Ceremonial Law of *Moses*, and you shall find, besides the Prefiguration of Christ, the Distinction of the People of God from the *Gentiles*, the Exercise and Impression of Obedience, and other holy Uses of the same Law; that some of the most learned *Rabbins* have travailed profitably and profoundly to observe, some of them a Natural, some of them a Moral Sense and Reduction of many of the Ceremonies

and Ordinances: As in the Law of the Leprosy, where it is said; *If the Whiteness have overspread the Flesh, the Patient may pass abroad for clean; but if there be any whole Flesh remaining, he is to be shut up for unclean.* From this Law one of them collects a Principle of Nature; *That Putrefaction is more contagious before Maturity, than after.* Another noteth a Position of Moral Philosophy; *That Men abandoned to Vice, do not so much corrupt Manners, as those that are half good, and half evil:* So that in this, and very many other Places in that Law, there is to be found besides the Theological Sense, much Asperision of Philosophy.

SO likewise if a Man turn over with Diligence that excellent Book of *Job*, he will find it full, and big as it were with the Mysteries of Natural Philosophy. As for Example; Cosmography, and the Roundness of the World: *He stretcheth out the North over the empty Place and hangeth the Earth upon nothing; Job xxvi. 7.* wherein the Pensileness of the Earth, the Pole of the North, and the Finiteness or Convexity of Heaven are manifestly touched. So again Matter of Astronomy; *By his Spirit he hath garnished the Heavens; his Hand hath formed the crooked Serpent; ibid. 13.* And in another Place, *Canst thou bind the sweet Influences of Pleiades? Or loose the Bands of Orion?*

xxxviii. 31. where the immoveable Configuration of the fix'd Stars, ever standing at equal Distance one from the other, is with great Elegancy described. So in another Place, *Which maketh Arcturus, Orion, and Pleiades, and the Secrets of the South*; ix. 9. where again he points at the Depression of the Southern Pole, calling it the *Secrets of the South*, because the Southern Stars are not seen upon our Hemisphere; Matter of Generation; *Hast thou not poured me out like Milk, and condens'd me like Curds*? x. 10. Matter of Minerals; *Surely there is a Vein for Silver, and a Place wherein Gold is fined; Iron is digged up out of compacted Dust, and Brass extracted from Stone dissolved in the Furnace*, and so forward in the same Chapter; 28. 1, &c.

IN like Manner also in the Person of King *Solomon*, we see the Gift of Wisdom, both in his own Petition, and in the Divine Grant, preferr'd before all earthly and temporal Felicity. By Virtue of which Donative and Grant, *Solomon* being singularly furnish'd, wrote not only those excellent Parables, or Aphorisms concerning Divine and Moral Philosophy; but also compiled a Natural History of all Vegetables, *from the Cedar upon the Mountain, to the Moss upon the Wall*, (which is but the Rudiment of a Plant, between Putrefaction and an Herb;) and of

all Things that breath or move. Nay, the same King *Solomon*, though he excell'd in Wealth, in Magnificence of Buildings, in Shipping, in Service and Attendance, in Fame and Renown, and other Things relating to Glory; yet he reaps, or assumes to himself, nothing at all, out of that Train of Glories, besides the Glory of inquiring into, and finding out the Truth. For so he says expressly; *It is the Glory of God to conceal a Thing; but the Honour of Kings is to search out a Matter*; Prov. xxv. 2. As if, according to the innocent and sweet Play of Children, the Divine Majesty took Delight to hide his Works, to the end to have them found out; and as if Kings could not obtain a greater Honour, than to be God's Play-fellows in that Game; especially considering the great Command they have of Wits and Means, whereby nothing needeth to be hidden from them.

NOR was the Dispensation of God otherwise, after our Saviour was come into the World, For he shew'd his Power, in putting Ignorance to flight, by his Conference with the Doctors, and Priests in the Temple, before he shew'd it, in subduing Nature, by his great and numerous Miracles. And the coming of the holy Spirit was chiefly figured and express'd, in the Similitude and Gift of
Tongues,

Tongues, which are but the Vehicles of Knowledge.

SO in the Choice of those Instruments, which God made use of for the Plantation of the Faith, at first he call'd forth Persons wholly unlearn'd and ignorant, otherwise than by Inspiration of the Holy Ghost; to the end he might more evidently declare his own immediate Working and Divine Power, and above Human Wisdom. Nevertheless, his Counsel in this Respect was no sooner fulfill'd, but in the next Succession of Time, he sent his Divine Truth into the World, waited upon by other Learnings as Servants or Handmaids. Accordingly the Pen of *St. Paul* (the only learned Man of the Apostles) was chiefly employ'd by God, in the Scriptures of the New Testament.

SO again we know that several of the ancient Bishops and Fathers, were excellently read in all the Learning of the Heathen. In-
somuch, that the Edict of *Julian*, which forbade Christians to be admitted into Schools, and Academies, was esteemed a more pernicious Engine for the demolishing of the Christian Faith, than the Sanguinary Persecutions of the preceding Emperors. Neither was the Emulation and Invidiousness of *Gregory* the First, Bishop of *Rome*, (otherwise an excellent Man) who zealously endeavour'd to ob-

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literate

literate the Memory of Heathen Authors and Antiquities, taken in good part, even among pious Men. Nay it was the Christian Church alone, which, amidst the Inundations of the *Scythians* from the North, and of the *Saracens* from the East, preserv'd in her sacred Bosom, the precious Relicks of Heathen Learning, which was now upon the Point of being utterly extinguish'd.

WHEREFORE to conclude this Part, there are two principal Offices and Services, besides Ornament and Illustration, which Philosophy, and Human Learning perform to Faith and Religion. The one, that they are effectual Incitements to the Exaltation and Celebration of the Glory of God; (for as the Psalms, and other Scriptures, often invite us to contemplate, and magnify the great and wonderful Works of God; so, if we should rest only in the exterior part of them, as they first offer themselves to our Senses; we should do the like Injury to the Majesty of God, as if we should judge of the Wealth and Store of a most noted Jeweller, by what is expos'd to View in the out-part of the Shop towards the Street.) The other, that they minister a singular Help and Preservative against Unbelief and Error. For our Saviour saith, *Ye err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the Power of God.* Where he lays before us two Books to study, to prevent our falling into

into Error : First the Volume of the Scriptures, which reveal the Will of God ; then, the Volume of the Creatures, that express his Power : The Latter of which, is as a Key to the Former, opening not only our Intellect, to conceive the genuine Sense of the Scriptures, which is to be drawn out by the general Rules of Reason, and Laws of Speech ; But besides that, unlocking our Faith also, to enter into a serious Meditation of the Omnipotence of God, the Characters whereof are chiefly signed and engraven upon his Works. Thus much for Divine Testimonies, and Judgments, concerning the true Dignity and Value of Learning.

C H A P. VII.

Of Human Proofs and Arguments.

De Augmentis Scientiarum. Ibid.



S for Human Proofs and Arguments, so large a Field opens, that it is convenient to use Choice rather than Abundance.

FIRST therefore the highest Degree of Honour among the Heathen, was to obtain Divine Veneration and Worship; (which as to Christians indeed is as the forbidden Fruit :) But we speak now separately concerning Human Judgments. Therefore (as we were saying) among the Heathens, that which the Greeks call *Apotheosis*, and the Latins, *Relatio inter Deos*, (*Canonizing*,) was the supreme Honour that Man could possibly attribute to Man; especially, when it was given

ven, not by any Decree, or Act of State (as to the *Roman* Emperors) but freely and frankly, from the Judgment, and inward Belief of Men. Of which exalted Honour there was a certain Degree, and middle Term. For there were reckoned above *Human Honours*, *Honours Heroical*, and *Divine*; in the Distribution of which, Antiquity observ'd this Order.

FOUNDERS of States, Legislators, Tyrannicides, Fathers of their Country, and other Persons of great Merit in Civil Affairs, were distinguish'd by the Title of Heroes only, or Demy-Gods; such as *Theseus*, *Minos*, *Romulus*, and the rest: On the other side, the Inventors and Authors of new Arts, and such as endow'd Human Life with new Conveniences, and Accessions, were ever consecrated among the *Greater Gods* themselves, which happen'd to *Ceres*, *Bacchus*, *Mercury*, *Apollo*, and others. Which, doubtless, was done justly, and upon sound Judgment. For the *Merits of the former*, are commonly confined within the Circle of one Age, or Nation; and are not unlike seasonable and favourable Showers, which though they be profitable and desirable, yet serve but for that Season, wherein they fall, and for that Latitude of Ground, which they water: But the Benefits of the latter, like the Blessings of the Sun, and of the heavenly Bodies, are for Time, perpetual; for Place, universal. Again, Those
are

are usually accompanied with Strife, and Perturbation ; but These have the true Character of the Divine Presence, and come in a *gentle Gale*, without Tumult, or Noise.

NOR indeed is the Merit of Learning in Civil Affairs, and in repressing the Inconveniences which One Man brings upon Another, much inferior to that Other, in relieving Human Necessities, which arise from Nature herself. And this kind of Merit was excellently shadow'd under that Feign'd Relation, concerning *Orpheus's Theater* ; where all Beasts and Birds assembled, and forgetful of their Natural Appetites, of Prey, of Game, of Fight, stood sociably and lovingly together, taken with the melodious Sweetness of his Harp ; the Sound whereof no sooner ceased, or was drowned by some louder Noise, but every Beast returned to his own Nature. In which Fable, the Natures, and Manners of Men are elegantly described, who are tossed with sundry untamed Desires of Gain, of Lust, of Revenge ; yet as long as they give ear to the Precepts, and Persuasions of Religion, of Laws, of Instructors, eloquently and sweetly warbling, in Books, in Sermons, and Harangues ; so long is Peace and Society maintain'd : But if those are silent, or that Seditions, and Tumults disturb them with their Clamour, all Things dissolve, and relapse into Anarchy and Confusion.

BUT

BUT this appears more manifestly, when Kings themselves, or Persons of great Authority under them, or other Governours of States, are indued with Learning. For however partial to his own Profession he may be thought, who said, *Then would States be Happy, when either Philosophers were Kings, or Kings Philosophers*; yet so much is verified by Experience, that, under Learned Princes, and Governours of State, there have been ever the Happiest Times. For howsoever Kings themselves may have their Errors and Imperfections, being liable to Passions, and depraved Customs, like other Men; yet if they have the Illumination of Learning, certain anticipated Notions of Religion, Policy, and Morality, hold them back, and refrain them from all ruinous and incurable Excess, and Error; evermore twitching their Ear, even when Counsellors and Servants are silent. Moreover, Senators, and Counsellors themselves, that are accomplish'd with Learning, proceed upon more solid Principles, than those that are only Men of Experience; the former seeing Dangers afar off, and warding them in Time; whereas these are wise only near at hand, seeing nothing but what is imminent, and then at last trusting to the Agility of their Wit to disintangle and rescue themselves, in the very Instant of Perils.

WHICH

WHICH Felicity of Times under *Lear-
ned Princes* (to keep still the Law of Brevity,
by using only the most select, and most emi-
nent Examples) doth best appear in that Age,
which passed from the Death of *Domitian* the
Emperor, until the Reign of *Commodus*, com-
prehending a Succession of six Princes, Learn-
ed themselves, or at least singular Favourers
of Learning; and of all Ages (if we regard
Temporal Happiness) the most flourishing,
that *Rome*, then the *Epitome* of the World,
ever saw: A Matter revealed and prefigured
to *Domitian* in a Dream, the Night before he
was slain: For he thought he saw a *Golden
Head grown out of the Nape of his Neck*:
Which Divination was indeed fulfill'd in those
Golden Times which succeeded: Of which
Princes we will make some Commemoration;
wherein although the Matter will be vulgar,
and may be thought fitter for a Declamation,
than agreeable to a Treatise infolded as this;
yet because it is pertinent to the point in
hand, (*neque semper arcum tendit Apollo*; and
to name them only, were too naked and cur-
sory) I will not omit it altogether.

THE first was *Nerva*, the excellent
Temper of whose Government is, by a Glance
in *Cornelius Tacitus*, touched to the Life
(after *Nerva* had united two before incom-
patible Things, *Empire and Liberty*:) And in
token

oken of his Learning, he was a Familiar, and a Disciple as it were, of *Apollonius*, the famous *Pythagorean*: And the last Act of his short Reign left to Memory, was a Missive to his adopted Son *Trajan*, proceeding from some inward Discontent at the Ingratitude of the Times, comprehended in a Verse of *Homer's*,

Revenge my Tears, O Phæbus, with thy Shafts.

TRAJAN, who succeeded, was not learned indeed as to his own Person: But if we will hearken to the Speech of our Saviour, that saith, *He that receiveth a Prophet in the Name of a Prophet, shall have a Prophet's Reward*; he deserves to be placed amongst the most learned Princes: For he was an Admirer of Learning, a Benefactor to learned Men, a Founder of Libraries, and in whose Court (tho' a warlike Prince) Preceptors and Professors are recorded to have been in the highest Request. On the other side, how much *Trajan's* Virtue and Government was admired and renowned, surely no Testimony of grave and faithful History doth more lively set forth, than that Legend Tale of *Gregorius Magnus*, Bishop of *Rome*, who was noted for the extreme Envy he bare towards all Heathen Excellency; and yet he is reported out of the Love and Esteem of *Trajan's* Moral Virtues, to have made unto God passionate

sionate and fervent Prayers, for the Delivery of his Soul out of Hell; and to have obtained it with a *Caveat* that he should make no more Petitions. In this Prince's Time also, the Persecutions against the Christians received Intermission, upon the Certificate of *Plinius Secundus*, a Man of excellent Learning, and by *Trajan* advanced.

ADRIAN, his Successor, was the most curious Man that lived, and the most universal Enquirer; insomuch as it was noted for an Error in his Mind, that he desired to comprehend all Things, and not to reserve himself for the worthiest Things, falling into the like Humour that was long before noted in *Philip* of *Macedon*, who when he would needs over-rule and convince an excellent Musician, in an Argument touching Musick, was well answer'd by him again, *God forbid, Sir, (saith he) that your Fortune should be so bad, as to know those things better than I.* It pleased God likewise to use the Curiosity of this Emperor, as an Inducement to the Peace of his Church. in those Days; for having Christ in Veneration, not as a God or Saviour, but as a Wonder or Novelty, and having his Picture in his Gallery, matched with *Apollonius*, (with whom, in his vain Imagination, he thought he had some Conformity) yet it served the turn to allay the bitter Hatred of those Times against

the Christian Name; so as the Church had Peace during his Time. And for his Government Civil, although he did not attain to that of *Trajan's*, in Glory of Arms, or Perfection of Justice; yet in deserving of the Weal of the Subject, he did exceed him. For *Trajan* erected many famous Monuments and Buildings, insomuch as *Constantine the Great*, in Emulation was wont to call him *Parietaria*, *Wall-Flower*, because his Name was upon so many Walls: But his Buildings and Works were more of Glory and Triumph, than Use and Necessity. But *Adrian* spent his whole Reign (which was peaceable) in a Perambulation, or Survey of the *Roman Empire*, giving Order, wherever he went, for re-edifying of Cities, Towns, and Forts decayed; and for cutting of Rivers and Streams; and for making Bridges and Passages, and for Policing of Cities and Commonalties, with new Ordinances and Constitutions; and granting new Franchises and Incorporations: So that his whole Time was a perfect Restoration of all the Lapses and Decays of former Times.

ANTONINUS Pius, who succeeded him, was a Prince excellently learned; and had the patient and subtile Wit of a School-man; insomuch as in common Speech, (which leaves no Virtue untaxed) he was called *Cumini-Sector*, a Carver, or a Divider of Cumin-

Seed, which is one of the least Seeds: Such a Patience he had, and settled Spirit, to enter into the least and most exact Differences of Causes; a Fruit, no doubt, of the exceeding Tranquillity and Serenity of his Mind; which being no Ways charged or incumbered either with Fears, Remorses, or Scruples, but having been noted for a Man of the purest Goodness without all Fiction or Affectation, that hath reigned or lived, made his Mind continually present and entire: He likewise approached a Degree nearer unto Christianity, and became, as *Agrippa* said unto *St. Paul*, *half a Christian*; holding their Religion and Law in good Opinion, and not only ceasing Persecution, but giving Way to the Advancement of Christians.

THERE succeeded him the first *Divi Fratres*, the two adoptive Brethren, *Lucius Commodus Verus*, Son to *Elius Verus*, (who delighted much in the foster kind of Learning, and was wont to call the Poet *Martial* his *Virgil*) and *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, whereof the Latter, who obscured his Colleague, and survived him long, was named the *Philosopher*; who as he excell'd all the rest in Learning, so he excell'd them likewise in Perfection of all Royal Virtues; insomuch as *Julian* the Emperor, in his Book intitled, *Casares*, which was a kind of Satyr, to deride all his Predecessors, feigned that they

were

were all invited to a Banquet of the Gods, and *Silenus* the Jester sat at the nether End of the Table, and bestowed a Scoff upon every one as they came in; but when *Marcus Philosophus* came in, *Silenus* was gravelled, and out of Countenance, having nothing to object, or carp at, except his Patience towards the Humours of his Wife. And the Virtue of this Prince continued with that of his Predecessor, made the Name of *Antoninus* so sacred in the World, that though it were extremely dishonoured in *Commodus*, *Caracalla*, and *Heliogabalus*, (who all bore the Name) yet when *Alexander Severus* refused the Name, because he was a Stranger to the Family, the Senate, with one Acclamation said, *Quomodo Augustus sic & Antoninus*. In such Renown and Veneration, was the Name of these two Princes in those Days, that they would have had it as a perpetual Addition in all the Emperors Style. In this Emperor's Time also, the Church for the most part was in Peace: So as in this Series of six Princes, we see the blessed Effects of Learning in Sovereignty, painted forth in the Great Table of the World.

BUT for a Tablet or Picture of smaller Volume, in my Judgment the most excellent, is that of Queen *Elizabeth*, a Prince that, if *Plutarch* was now alive to write Lives by Parallels, would trouble him, I think, to
I 2 find

find for her a Parallel among Women. This Lady was endued with Learning, in her Sex singular, and Grace even among Masculine Princes; whether we speak of Learning of Languages, or of Science, Modern or Ancient, Divinity or Humanity. And to the very last Year of her Life, she was accustomed to appoint set Hours for Reading, scarcely any young Student in an University, more daily, or more dully. As for her Government, I assure my self, I shall not exceed, if I affirm, that this part of the Island never had 45 Years of better Times; and yet not through the Calmness of the Season, but through the Wisdom of her Regiment. For if there be considered on the one side, the Truth of Religion established; the constant Peace and Security; the good Administration of Justice; the temperate Use of the Prerogative not slackened, nor much strained; the flourishing State of Learning, suiting with so excellent a Patroness; the convenient Estate of Wealth and Means, both of Crown and Subject; the Habit of Obedience, and the Moderation of Discontents: And there be considered on the other side, the Differences of Religion, the Troubles of Neighbour Countries, the Ambition of *Spain*, and Opposition of *Rome*, and then that she was solitary, and of her self: These Things, I say, consider'd, as I

could

could not have chosen an Instance so recent and so proper; so, I suppose, I could not have chosen one more remarkable, or eminent, to the purpose now in hand; which is concerning the Conjunction of Learning in the Prince, with Felicity in the People.

C H A P. VIII.

*The Influence of LEARNING in
Military Affairs.**De Augmentis Scientiarum. Ibid.*

URTHERMORE, Learning has not only an Influence upon Civil Affairs, and the Arts of Peace, but it exercises its Power and Efficacy also in Martial Virtue; as appears manifestly in the Examples of *Alexander* the Great, and *Cesar* the Dictator: Whose Military Virtues, and Achievements in War, 'twould be needless to note or recite, since they were the Wonders of the World in that kind: But of their Affection and Zeal to Learning, as also their peculiar Perfection in the same, 'twill not be impertinent to subjoin somewhat,

ALEXANDER was bred and taught under *Aristotle*, (a great Philosopher, doubtless)

less) who dedicated divers of his Philosophical Books to him: He was never without *Callisthenes*, and several other great Scholars, who followed his Camp, and were his perpetual Associates in all his Marches and Expeditions: And in what Esteem he held Learning, is plainly demonstrated by many Particulars: As the Envy, which he thought *Achilles's* Fortune worthy of, in having so good a Trumpet of his Acts and Praises as *Homer*. His Judgment touching the precious Cabinet of *Darius*, found amongst the rest of the Spoils; of which, when a Question was moved, What Thing was most worthy to be kept in it? and One said one Thing; and Another, another; He gave Sentence for *Homer's* Works. His chiding Letter to *Aristotle*, after he had publish'd his Books of Nature, wherein he expostulates with him, for publishing the Mysteries of Philosophy; and withal sends him Word, That he had rather excell all Men in Learning and Knowledge, than in Power and Empire. There are other Particulars also to this purpose. But as to Himself, how excellently he had improv'd his Mind with Learning, appears, or rather shines, in all his Sayings and Answers, full of Learning; wherein, though the Remains be few, you may find deeply impress'd the Footsteps of all Sciences.

AND herein again, it may seem a thing Scholastical, and somewhat idle, to recite Things that every Man knoweth; but yet, since the Argument I handle, leadeth me thereunto, I am glad that Men shall perceive I am as willing to flatter (if they will so call it) an *Alexander*, or a *Cæsar*, or an *Antoninus*, that are dead many hundred Years since, as any that now liveth: For it is the Displaying of the Glory of Learning in Sovereignty, that I propound to my self, and not an Humour of Declaiming in any Man's Praises.

AS to Morals then, let the Apothegm of *Alexander*, touching *Diogenes*, be observ'd first; and see (if ye please) if it tend not to the settling of one of the greatest Questions in Moral Philosophy; *Whether he that enjoys outward Things, or despises them, is the happier Man.* For when he saw *Diogenes* contented with so little, turning to those that stood about him, and mock'd at his Condition, *Were I not* (says he) *Alexander, I could wish to be Diogenes.* But *Seneca*, in this Comparison, preferr'd *Diogenes*, when he said, *There was more that Diogenes would have refused, than Alexander could have given.*

IN Natural Knowledge, let that Speech be observ'd which was usual with him, *That*
be

he felt his Mortality chiefly in two things, Sleep and Lust, Which Speech, in truth, is drawn from the Depth of Natural Philosophy, and likelier to have come out of the Mouth of an *Aristotle*, or a *Democritus*, than an *Alexander*; seeing as well the Indigence, as Redundance of Nature, represented by those two Acts, are as it were Pledges and Earnests of Death.

AS to Poetry, let that Speech be observ'd, when upon the bleeding of his Wounds, he called to him one of his Flatterers, that was wont to ascribe to him Divine Honour; Look, says he, *this is the Blood of a Man, not such Liquor as Homer said ran from Venus Hand, when it was wounded by Diomed*: With this Saying making merry both with the Poets, and his Flatterers, and Himself.

IN Logick; Take his Reprehension of Dialectick Subtleties, as to the Repelling and Retorting of Arguments, in the Touch he gave *Cassander*, who was confuting the Informers against his Father *Antipater*. For when *Alexander* happen'd to say, *Do you think these Men would have taken so long a Journey, if they had not just Cause of Complaint?* *Cassander* answer'd, *Nay, this was the very Thing that gave them Encouragement, being in hopes that their Calumny at*
such

such a Distance could not be disprov'd. See (says the King) *the Quirks of Aristotle to turn a Thing both ways, Pro and Con. Never-* theless, this very Art, which he reprehended in another, he knew well how to use him- self, when Occasion required, to serve his own turn. For it so fell out, that *Callisthenes* (whom *Alexander* inwardly hated, for being against his new Canonization) was de- fired at a Banquet, by the Company at Ta- ble, to chuse some Subject, for Entertain- ment sake, (being a very eloquent Man) to discourse upon *extempore*; and he consent- ing, and pitching upon the Praises of the *Macedonian* Nation, harangued with the great Applause of all the Company: Whereupon *Alexander*, nothing pleas'd, said, *Upon a good Subject, it is easy for any body to be eloquent: But turn, says he, your Style, and let us hear what you can say against us. Callisthenes* un- dertook it, and perform'd it with that Sting and Bitterness, that *Alexander* interrupted him, and said; *Spight also, as well as a good Cause, infuses Eloquence.*

FOR Rhetorick, to which Tropes and Ornaments belong, behold a most elegant Use of a Metaphor, wherewith he girded *Antipater*, an imperious tyrannical Gover- nour. For when one of *Antipater's* Friends was praising him to *Alexander* for his great Moderation, in not degenerating, as other

Lieu-

Lieutenants did, into the *Persian* Luxury, and the Use of Purple, and throwing off the ancient *Macedonian* Habit; True, says Alexander, but Antipater is all over Purple within. That other Metaphor also was fine: When *Parmenio* came to him in the Plains of *Arbela*, and shew'd him the vast Army of his Enemies, which lying under their View by Night, represented, by the infinite Number of Fires, another as it were starry Firmament, and thereupon advised him to attack them by Night, *I will not*, says Alexander, *steal a Victory.*

FOR Matter of Policy, mark that most significant and wise Distinction (which all Posterity has embrac'd) that he made between two of his singular Friends, *Ephestion* and *Craterus*, when he said, *That the One loved Alexander, and the Other loved the King*; settling a Difference of great Import, between even the most faithful Servants of Princes, *That some bear a true Affection to the Persons of their Masters; others to their Crown, and Government.*

LET it be considered likewise, how notably he tax'd an Error, ordinary with the Counsellors of Princes, who generally suggest Counsel, according to the Model of their own Mind and Fortune, not that of their Masters. For when *Darius* made great Offers

fers to *Alexander* ; I, says *Parmenio*, would accept them, if I was *Alexander*. Replies *Alexander* ; And so would I, if I were *Parmenio*.

Lastly ; Examine that quick and acute Reply to his Friends, when they ask'd him, *What he reserv'd for himself, upon his giving so many and such large Gifts to others* ; *Hope* ; says he. As one who well knew, that when all Accounts are cast up aright, *Hope* is the true Portion, and as it were Inheritance, of those that aspire to Great Things. This was *Julius Caesar's* Portion, when upon going into *Gaul*, he had exhausted all his Estate by profuse Largeesses. This was likewise the Portion of *Henry Duke of Guise*, that most Noble Prince, tho' too Ambitious, of whom it was usually said, *That he was the greatest Usurer in all France, because all his Wealth was in Notes, and he had turn'd his whole Patrimony into Obligations.*

TO conclude therefore, as certain Criticks are used to say hyperbolically ; That if all Sciences were lost, they might be found in *Virgil* : So certainly this may be said truly ; there are the Prints and Footsteps of Learning in those few Speeches which are reported of this Prince. The Admiration of whom, when I consider him, not as *Alexander*

the

be Great, but as *Aristotle's* Scholar, hath perhaps carried me too far.

AS for *Julius Caesar*, the Excellency of his Learning need not be conjectur'd, either from his Education, or his Acquaintance, or his Answers. For this appears eminently in his Writings, and Books, some of which are extant, others are unfortunately lost. We have to this Day that famous History of his own Wars, which he nam'd and entitl'd, *Commentaries* only; wherein all succeeding Ages have admired the solid Weight of Matter, and lively Images, as well of Actions as Persons, joined with the greatest Purity of Language, and Perspicuity of Narration that ever was: Which that it was not the Effect of a natural Gift, but of Learning and Precept, is well witnessed by that Work of his intitl'd, *De Analogia*; being a Grammatical Philosophy, wherein he did labour to make this same *Vox ad placitum*, to become *Vox ad verum*; and to reduce Custom of Speech to Congruity of Speech, and took as it were the Pictures of Words from the Life of Reason.

BY the Book which he entitl'd, *Anti-Cato*, it easily appears, that he aspir'd as much to Victory of Wit, as Victory of War and Arms, undertaking therein a Conflict with the Pen against

against the greatest Champion of that Age
Cicero the Orator.

AGAIN, as a Monument of his Learning, no less than of his Power, we have the Computation of the Year reform'd by an Edict of his; a plain Evidence, that he took it to be as great a Glory to himself to understand well the Laws of the Stars in Heaven, as to give Laws to Men upon Earth.

AGAIN in his Book of Apophthegms, which he collected, we see he esteem'd it more Honour, to make himself a kind of Register-Book, for the entering the wise and pithy Sayings of others, than to have his own Sayings hallowed as Oracles, as some vain Princes, corrupted by Flattery, delight to do. And yet if I was minded to enumerate many of his Sayings, (as I did in *Alexander*) they are truly such as *Solomon* notes; *The Words of the Wise are as Stings, and like Nails driven deep*; whereof I will recite three only, not so wonderful for their Elegancy, as for their Force and Efficacy.

FIRST then, he must needs be thought a Master of Speech, that could with one Word appease a Mutiny in his Army. The Occasion was this; 'Twas a Custom with the *Romans*, when their Generals spoke to their Army, to use the Word *Milites*, but when the

the Magistrates spake to the People, to use the Word *Quirites*. *Cæsar's* Soldiers tumulted, and seditiously demanded a Dismissal; not that they really desired this, but by such Demand, to force *Cæsar* to other Conditions: He nothing mov'd, and unshaken, when Silence was made, began thus; *Quirites*. By which Word he intimated, That they were already dismiss'd. The Soldiers struck, and utterly confounded at this, never left interrupting him as he went on with his Speech, and relinquishing their former Demand of Dismissal, made it their earnest Suit on the other side, that the Name of *Milites* might be again restored them.

THE Second was thus; *Cæsar* extremely affected the Name of *King*: Therefore some were suborn'd, as he passed by, in popular Acclamation to salute him *King*. He finding the Cry weak and thin, put off the Matter with a Jest, as if they had mistaken his Surname; *I am*, says he, *not King, but Cæsar*; a Speech certainly, that if it be exactly search'd, the Life and Weight of it can scarce be express'd. For first it pretended a Refusal of the Name, but not serious. Next it shew'd an infinite Confidence and Magnanimity; as if the Appellation of *Cæsar* were a greater Title, than that of *King*; which came to pass accordingly, and hath obtain'd even to this Day: But what made most for his

his purpose, this Speech, by an admirable Artifice, pursued closely its own End; for this insinuated, that the Senate and People of *Rome* contended with him about a Trifle, a Name only, (for he had long since the Power of a King) and such a Name, as many even of mean Families bore: For *Rex* was a Surname of the *Romans*, as *King* is with us.

THE last Speech I think fit to mention here, was thus; When *Cesar*, after the War began, had possess'd himself of *Rome*, and had broke open the inner Treasury, to take the Money there stored, for the Service of the War, *Metellus*, as being then Tribune, withstood him; to whom *Cesar*, *If thou dost persist*, (says he) *Thou art a dead Man*. Then checking himself a little, he added, *Young Man, 'tis harder for me to say this, than to do it*. A Speech compounded of such wonderful Terror and Clemency, that nothing possibly could be more.

BUT to dismiss *Cesar*, it is evident that he was fully sensible of his own Perfection in Learning; as appears by this, that when some were wondering at *Sylla's* Resolution in resigning the Dictatorship, he scoffingly said, *Scylla knew not Letters, and could not dictate*.

AND

AND it seems to be time now to put an End to this Discourse concerning the near Alliance of Military Virtue and Learning, (for what in this Kind can come after *Alexander* and *Cæsar* ?) were it not that I am transported with the Worthiness and Rareness of one other Example, because it did so suddenly pass from *Scorn* to *Wonder*. And it is of *Zenophon*, the Philosopher, who went from *Socrates's* School into *Asia*, with *Cyrus* the Younger, in his Expedition against King *Artaxerxes*. This *Zenophon*, at that Time, was a very Youth; and never had seen Army or Camp; nor had he then any Command in the Army, but went only as a Volunteer, for the Conversation of his Friend *Proxenus*. He was by chance present, when *Falinus* came with an Embassage from the Great King to the *Grecians*; after that *Cyrus* was slain in the Field, and the *Grecians* (but an Handful of Men) having lost their General, in the Heart of the Provinces of *Persia*, were cut off from their own Country, by the Interposition of abundance of Miles, and by very great and deep Rivers. The Embassage imported, That they should deliver up their Arms, and submit themselves to the King's Mercy : To which Embassy before Answer was publicly made, several of the Army conferr'd familiarly

miliarly with *Falinus*; and amongst the rest *Zenophon* happened to say: *Why*, (says he) *Falinus*, we have now but these two Things left us, our Arms, and our Courage: And if we yield up our Arms, what Use, pray, will our Courage be to us? Here *Falinus*, smiling, said, If I be not deceiv'd, Young Gentleman, you are an Athenian, and study Philosophy, and these are pretty spruce Things that you say, but you are very much mistaken, if you think your Courage a Match for the King's Forces. Here was the Scorn; the Wonder follows. This School-Novice, and Philosopher, after all the Captains and Commanders were murder'd by Treachery, conducted back ten Thousand Foot, from *Babylon* into *Greece*, through the midst of the King's Provinces, in despite of all his Forces, to the Astonishment of the World, and the no small Encouragement of the *Grecians* from that Time, to an Invasion and Subversion of the *Persian* Monarchy. Which indeed soon after *Jason* the *Thessalian* design'd; *Agefilas* the *Spartan* attempted; and at last *Alexander* the *Macedonian* atchieved, all stirred up by this Brave Leading Act of that Young Scholar.

C H A P. IX.

*The Influence of LEARNING in
Moral Virtue.*

De Augmentis Scientiarum. Ibid.



ET us proceed from Imperial and Military Virtue, to Moral, and that which is the Virtue of Private Men: And first, that of the Poet is a most certain Truth,

*Scilicet ingenuas didicisse fideliter Artes
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.*

FOR Learning frees Men's Minds from Brutality and Barbarism. But yet the Emphasis had need be upon the Word *fideliter*; (*thoroughly*) for a superficial confused Knowledge turns rather to the contrary: Learning, I say, takes away Levity, Rashness, and
K 2 Insolence,

Infolence, whilst it suggests all Dangers and Doubts together with the Thing it self; ballances the Weight of Reasons and Arguments on both sides; turns back the first Offers and pleasing Conceits of the Mind as suspected, and teaches us not to tread a Step without searching, as it were, and examining our Way.

THE same extirpates vain and excessive Admiration, which is the very Root of all Weakness. For we admire Things, either because they are *New*, or because they are *Great*. As for *Novelty*, there is no Man that is thoroughly Learned and Contemplative, but hath This printed upon his Heart, *Nil novi super terram*, (*there is nothing new under the Sun* :) Neither will any Man much marvel at the Play of Puppets, that puts his Head behind the Curtain, and sees the Instruments and Wires that cause the Motion. For *Greatness*; as *Alexander the Great*, after he had been used to mighty Battels, and Conquests in *Asia*, receiving sometimes Letters out of *Greece*, of some Expeditions and Scuffles there, which were commonly for a Bridge, or Castle, or for the taking of some Town at the most, was wont to say; *It seemed to him, that News was brought him of the Battels of the Frogs, and the Mice, that Homer talks of*: So certainly to a Man that

contemplates the universal Frame of Nature, the Globe of the Earth with the Men upon it (setting aside the Divinity of their Souls) will seem nothing greater than a Hillock of Ants, some of which creep and run up and down with Grains of Corn, others with their Eggs, some empty, all here and there about a little Heap of Dust.

AGAIN, Learning takes away, or at least mitigates the Fear of Death, and of adverse Fortune, which is one of the greatest Impediments to Virtue and Manners. For if a Man's Mind be seasoned, and deeply dyed with the Contemplation of Mortality, and the corruptible Nature of Things, he will be of *Epictetus's* Sentiment; who going out one Day, and seeing a Woman weeping for her Pitcher, that was broke; and going out the next Day, and seeing another Woman lamenting the Death of her Son, said; *Heri, vidi fragilem frangi; Hodie, vidi mortalem mori: Yesterday I saw a brittle Thing broke; to Day I saw a mortal Thing die.* Wherefore *Virgil* did excellently, and very wisely, in coupling the Knowledge of Causes and the Conquest of all Fear, together, as Concomitants;

*Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Quiq; metus omnes & inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumq; Acherontis avari.*

*Happy the Man, who, studying Nature's Laws,
Thro' known Effects can trace the secret Cause:
His Mind possessing in a quiet State,
Fearless of Fortune, and resign'd to Fate.*

Dryden.

'T WOULD be too tedious to run over the particular Remedies, which Learning ministers to all the Diseases of the Mind, sometimes purging out the ill Humours, sometimes opening Obstructions, sometimes helping Digestion, sometimes exciting Appetite, often healing its Wounds and Ulcers, and the like. Wherefore I will conclude with that which seems to be the Sum of all, which is, that Learning disposes and inclines the Mind, never to acquiesce wholly, and to continue fix'd and benumb'd as it were in its own Defects, but to be still rousing it self, and breathing after Growth and Advancement. The illiterate Man knows not what it is to descend into himself, or to call himself to Account, or the Pleasure of that Life, which is sensible of its growing every Day better: If he chance to have any Virtue, he'll be boasting of it to be sure, and will expose it every where to full View, and perhaps make a dexterous Use of it, to his own Advantage, but neglects to improve and increase it. Again if he labour under any Imperfection, he

he will use Art and Industry to conceal and colour it, but very little to amend it; like an ill Mower that mows on still, and never whets his Scythe. On the other side a Learned Man does not only employ his Mind, and exercise his Virtues, but is continually reforming himself, and making Progress in Virtue. Nay, to say all in a Word, certain it is, that *Truth* and *Goodness* differ but as the Seal and the Impression; for Goodness is Truth's Impression: And on the contrary, the Storms of Vice and Passions break from the Clouds of Error and Falshood.

C H A P. X.

*Of the Power and Sovereignty where-
with LEARNING invests Men,
and of the Pleasures of it.*

De Augmentis Scientiarum. Ibid.



FROM Virtue let us pass to
Matter of Power and Em-
pire, and consider whether
there be any where found so
much Power and Sovereign-
ty, as that wherewith
Learning invests and crowns Man's Nature.
We see the Dignity of Commanding, is ac-
cording to the Dignity of the Commanded.
Command over Beasts, and Cattle, as Herds-
men and Shepherds have, is a Thing con-
temptible: Command over Children, as
School-Masters have, is a Matter of small
Honour: Command over Galley-Slaves, is a
Disparagement rather than an Honour: Nei-
ther is the Command of Tyrants much bet-
ter over a servile People, stript of all Spirit,
and

and Generosity of Mind: Therefore it has
ever held, that Honours in free Monarchies,
or Common-Wealths, have more Sweetness
than under Tyrants; because a Command
over the Willing is more honourable than
over the Forced, and Compelled. And there-
fore *Virgil*, when he would exert himself to
draw forth, from the Depth of Art, the ve-
ry best of Human Honours, to assign to *Au-
gustus Cæsar*, does it in these very Words:

*Victorq; volentes
Per populos dat jura, viamq; affectat Olympo.
Georg. 4.*

*Thus have I sung of Fields, and Flocks, and
Trees,*

*And of the waxen Work of lab'ring Bees;
While mighty Cæsar, thund'ring from afar,
Seeks on Euphrates Banks the Spoils of War:
With conqu'ring Arts asserts his Country's Cause,
With Arts of Peace the Willing People draws:
On the glad Earth the Golden Age renews,
And his great Father's Path to Heav'n pursues.
Dryden.*

BUT the Empire of Knowledge is far higher
than the Empire over the Will, tho' free and un-
manacled. For That has a Dominion over Rea-
son, Belief, and even the Understanding, which
is the highest Part of the Soul, and gives Law
to the Will it self. For without Question,
there

there is no Power on Earth which sets up its Throne and Chair of State, as it were, in the Spirits and Souls of Men, and in their Thoughts, and Imaginations, their Assent also and Belief, but Learning and Knowledge. And therefore we see the detestable and extreme Pleasure that Arch-Hereticks, False Prophets, and great Impostors, are ravish'd and transported with, when once they find that they have begun to reign in the Faith and Consciences of Men; indeed so great, that he that has once tasted it, can hardly be brought by any Persecution or Torment, to relinquish and abandon his Sovereignty. And as this is that which is called in the *Revelations*, *The Depth or Profoundness of Satan*; so on the contrary, a just and lawful Sovereignty over Men's Minds, established by the mere Evidence, and most delightful Recommendation of Truth, approaches certainly as near as possible to the Similitude of the Divine Power.

AS to Fortunes and Honours, the Munificence of Learning is not so confined to the Enriching and Adorning of whole Kingdoms and Commonwealths, as not likewise to amplify and advance the Fortunes and Estates of private Persons. For it is an ancient Observation, *That Homer has given more Men their Living, than Sylla, Cæsar, or Augustus*; notwithstanding their numerous Largeesses,
Do-

onatives, and Distributions of Lands. Certainly, it is hard to say, whether Arms or Letters have advanced greater Numbers. And in case of Sovereignty, we see, that if Arms, Right of Inheritance, have carried away the Kingdom, yet Learning has generally carried the Priesthood, which has ever stood in Competition with Empire.

AGAIN, if you consider the Delight and Pleasure of Knowledge, assuredly it far surpasses all other Pleasures. For what? Shall, it may be, the Pleasures of the Affections as far exceed the Delights of the Senses, as the happy obtaining of a Desire, does a Song, or a Supper: And shall not, by the same Gradation, the Pleasures of the Intellect transcend those of the Affections? To all other Pleasures Satiety is Neighbour; and after they have been used, and are grown a little stale, their Verdure and Beauty fades; whereby we are instructed, that they were not truly pure and sincere Pleasures, but Shadows only, and Fallacies of Pleasures, and that it was the Novelty which pleas'd, rather than the Quality: Whence voluptuous Men often turn *Monks*; and the declining Age of ambitious Princes is commonly sad, and begg'd with Melancholy. But in Knowledge there is no Satiety, but Enjoyment and Appetite are perpetually interchangeable; so that this Delight must needs be good in it

it self simply, without Accident, or Facility.

NEITHER does that Pleasure which *Lucretius* describes, hold the lowest Place in the Mind of Man,

SVAVE mari magno turbantibus æquoribus ventis, &c.

IT is a delightful View (says he) to stand or walk upon the Shore, and to see a Ship tossed upon the Sea in a Tempest. A Pleasure likewise to behold from a lofty Turret two Armies joyning Battel upon a Plain: But nothing is pleasanter to a Man, than a Mind planted with Learning, in the Cittadel of Truth, from whence it may descry the Errors and Wanderings, the Perturbations, and Labours of other Men.

LASTLY; Omitting those vulgar Arguments, viz. That by Learning, Man excels all other Man in that, wherein Man excels the Brutes; That by the Help of Learning, Man ascends in his Understanding, even to the Heavens, to which in Body he cannot, and the like; let us conclude this Dissertation concerning the Excellency of Learning, with that Good whereunto Man's Nature doth most aspire, which is, Immortality and Eternity. For to this tends Generation, the Ennobling of Families, Buildings, Foundations, Monu-

Monuments, Fame, and, in short, the Sum of Human Desires. But we see how much more durable the Monuments of Wit and Learning are, than those of Works and Manufactures. Have not the Verses of *Homer* continued 25 Centuries of Years, and above, without the Loss of a Syllable, or Letter? During which Time, an infinite Number of Palaces, Temples, Castles, and Cities have decayed and fallen, or been demolish'd. The true Pictures, or Statues of *Cyrus*, *Alexander*, *Cæsar*, nay of Kings and Princes of much later Years, can't possibly now be had; for the Originals, worn away long since with Age, are perish'd; and the Copies daily lose of their Primitive Resemblance. But the Images of Men's Wits remain entire in Books forever, exempt from the Injuries of Time, because capable of perpetual Renovation: Tho' they can't properly be called Images neither, because they are perpetually generating as it were, and scattering their Seed in the Minds of Men, and raising and procreating infinite Actions, and Opinions, in succeeding Ages. Now if the Invention of the Ship was thought so noble and wonderful a Thing, which transports Riches and Merchandise from Place to Place, and consociates the most remote Regions, by a Participation of their Productions, and Commodities; how much more are Letters to be magnified, which, as Ships furrowing the Ocean of Time, connect the most distant

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distant Ages by a Commerce and Correspondence in Wits and Inventions?

NAY further we see, some of the Philosophers, that were most sunk in Flesh and Sense, and least Divine, and that peremptorily denied the Immortality of the Soul, yet driven to it by the Force of Truth, granted thus much; that whatsoever Motions and Actions the Soul of Man could perform without the Organs of the Body, those might probably remain after Death; that is, such as were the Motions of the Understanding, but not of the Affections. So immortal and incorruptible a Thing did Knowledge seem to them to be. But we, upon whom Divine Revelation has shone, despising these Rudiments, these Cheats and Delusions of the Senses, know that not only the Understanding, but also the Affections purified, not only the Soul, but the Body too, shall be advanc'd in due Time to Immortality. But it must be remembred, that in the Proofs of the Dignity of Knowledge, I did from the very Beginning separate Divine Testimony from Human; which Method, I have constantly pursued, and so handled them both apart.

BUT altho' all this be true, nevertheless I by no Means take upon me, nor do I think it possible for me, by any Pleading of mine, in the Cause of Learning, to reverse
the

the Judgment, either of *Æsop's* Cock, who preferr'd the Barley-Corn before the Gem; or of *Midas*, that being chosen Judge, between *Apollo*, President of the Muses, and *Pan*, God of the Flocks, judg'd for Plenty; or of *Paris*, that judg'd for Beauty, and Pleasure, despising Wisdom, and Power; or of *Agrippina's* Choice, *Occidat matrem, modo imperet*; Let him kill his Mother, provided he Rule; preferring Empire with Conditions never so detestable; or of *Ulysses*, *Qui vetulam suam prætulit immortalitati*; Who preferr'd his Old Woman to Immortality; being indeed a Type of those who prefer Custom before all Excellency; and a Number of the like popular Judgments: For these Things will continue as they have been: But so will that also continue, upon which Learning hath ever relied, as upon a most firm Foundation, and that can never be shaken: *Iustificata est Sapientia a filiis suis*; Wisdom is justified by her Children. Matt. xi.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Acts of Merit towards
LEARNING.

De Augmentis Scientiarum. Lib. 2. Proœm.



THE Acts and Works pertaining to the Advancement of Learning, are conversant about three Objects: About the Seats of Learning; About the Books of Learning; And about the Persons of Learned Men. For as Water, whether falling from the Dew of Heaven, or rising from the Springs of the Earth, easily scatters and loses it self in the Ground, except it be collected into some Receptacle, where it may by Union comfort and sustain it self; (for which purpose the Ingenuity of Man hath invented Spring-Heads, Conduits, Cisterns, and Pools; and beautified them also with divers Ornaments, serving for Magnificence and State, as well as for Use and Necessity :) So this most precious Liquor
of

of Knowledge, whether it distill from Divine Inspiration, or spring from Human Sense, would soon perish all and vanish, if it were not preserv'd in Books, Traditions, Conferences; and especially in particular Places designed to that end, as *Universities, Colleges, Schools*; where it may both have fix'd Stations, and Power and Ability to unite and collect it self into a Body.

AND First, the Works which concern the *Seats of the Muses* are Four: Foundations of Houses; Endowments of Revenues; Grant of Privileges; Institutions and Statutes for Government; All tending to Privateness and Quietness of Life, and a Discharge from Cares and Troubles; much like *Virgil's* Requisites for the Building of Hives, in Order to make Honey.

*Principio sedes apibus, statioq; petenda
Quo neque sit ventis aditus, &c.*

Virg. Georg. 4.

*First; for thy Bees a quiet Station find,
And lodge them under Covert of the Wind.*

Dryden.

BUT the Works touching *Books* are principally two: *First*, Libraries, wherein, as in stately Monuments, the Reliques of the Antient Saints, full of true Virtue, and that without Delusion or Imposture, are preserved, and reposed. *Secondly*, new Editions of Authors, furnish'd with more correct Impressions, more faithful Translations, more useful Comments, more diligent Annotations, and the like Train.

AGAIN, the Works which regard the *Persons of Learned Men*, (besides the advancing and countenancing of them in general) are likewise two: The Reward and Designation of Readers, in Sciences already invented and known; and the Designation of Writers and Enquirers, concerning any Parts of Learning, not hitherto sufficiently laboured and improved.

THESE are briefly the Works and Acts, wherein the Merits of Renowned Princes, and other illustrious Personages, towards the State of Learning have shone.

AS for any particular Commemoration of Persons that have deserv'd well of Learning, when I think thereupon, I call
to

to Mind that of Cicero, which, after his Return, put him upon giving general Thanks; *'Tis difficult not to pass by some one, and ungrateful to pass by any one.* Let us rather (according to the Advice of Scripture) look unto that Part of the Race which is before us, than look back unto those Things which are behind us.

C H A P. XII.

Of Defects in these Acts.

De Augmentis Scientiarum. Ibid.



FIRST therefore, amongst so many most Noble Foundations of Colleges throughout *Europe*, I wonder they should be all destin'd to particular Professions, and none dedicated to the free and universal Studies of Arts and Sciences. For if Men judge that all Learning should be referred to Use and Action, they judge right; But yet it is easy this Way to fall into the Error-taxt in the antient Fable; in which, the other Parts of the Body enter'd an Action against the Stomach, because it neither perform'd the Office of Motion, as the Limbs do; nor of Sense, as the Head doth; though all this while

while it was the Stomach that concocted, digested, and distributed Nourishment to the rest of the Body: Just so, the Man that thinks Philosophy and universal Contemplations a vain and idle Study, does not consider that all Professions and Arts are supplied with Sap and Strength from thence. And I am verily persuaded, that this very Thing has been a great Cause that hath hinder'd a more happy Progression of Learning hitherto, because these Fundamental Sciences have been studied but only in Passage, and deeper Draughts have not been taken of them. For if you will have a Tree bear more Fruit than it hath used to do, it is in vain to think of tampering with the Boughs; you must stir the Earth about the Root, and apply richer Mould, or you do nothing. Nor again is it to be passed over in Silence, that this Dedicating of Colleges and Societies, only to the Use of Professory Learning, hath not only been an Enemy to the Growth of Sciences, but hath redounded likewise to the Prejudice of Kingdoms and States. For hence it proceedeth, that Princes when they would make Choice of Ministers fit for the Affairs of State, find about them a marvellous Solitude of such Men; for this Reason, because there is no Collegiate Education design'd to this end, where such as are framed and fitted by Nature thereto, may (besides other Arts) intend chiefly History, Modern Languages,

Books and Treatises of Policy ; that so they may thence come more able, and better furnish'd, to Service of State.

AND because Founders of Colleges do *Plant*, but Founders of Lectures *Water* ; it follows now in Order, to speak of the Defect which is in publick Lectures. I disapprove then exceedingly of the Smallness and Meanness of Salaries (especially with us) assign'd to Readers, whether of Arts, or Professions. For it is of mighty Importance to Advancement in Sciences, that Readers in every Kind be chosen out of the ablest and most sufficient Men ; as those whose Labour is not for transitory Use, but to propagate and supply Offspring to Science for future Ages. This cannot be, unless the Reward and Conditions be appointed such, as may fully content the most eminent Man in that Art ; so as he may not think much to spend his whole Life in that Function, and never desire to Practise. Wherefore that Sciences may flourish, *David's Military Law* should be observ'd ; *That he that staid with the Carriage, should have an equal Part with him that went down to the Battel ;* 1 Sam. xxx. Else will the Carriages be ill attended. So Readers in Sciences are as it were the Preservers and Guardians of the Stores and Provisions of Learning, from whence Men in Action may be furnish'd. Wherefore it is
but

but Reason, that their Salaries be equal to the Gain of Practitioners. Otherwise if the Allowances appointed to the Fathers of Sciences be not competently ample, and handsome, it will come to pass,

Ut patrum invalidi referant jejunia nati.

Virg. Georg. 3.

— *If the Sire be faint, or out of Case,
He will be copied in his famish'd Race.*

Dryden.

I will note another Defect, wherein I shall have need to call in some Alchymist to my Aid; since this Sect of Men advise Students to sell their Books, and build Furnaces, quitting and forsaking *Minerva*, and the *Muses*, as barren Virgins, and applying themselves to *Vulcan*. Yet certainly it must be confess'd, that unto the Depths of Contemplative, as well as to the Fruits of Operative Study, in some Sciences, (especially Natural Philosophy and Physick) Books are not the only Instrumentals; wherein also the Munificence of Men hath not been altogether wanting; for we see Spheres, Globes, Astrolabes, Maps, and the like, have been provided as Appurtenances, to Astronomy and Cosmography, as well as Books. We see likewise that some Places dedicated to the Study of Physick, have Gardens for the Inspection and Knowledge of

Simples of all sorts ; and do likewise command the Use of dead Bodies for Anatomy Observations. But these respect but few Things. In general, Be it set down for a Truth, That there can hardly be made any great Proficiency in the disclosing and unlocking the Secrets of Nature, unless there be a plentiful Allowance for Experiments, whether of *Vulcan*, or *Dædalus*, (Furnace, or Engine) or any other Kind whatsoever. And therefore as Secretaries, and Emissaries of Princes, are allowed to bring in Bills of Charges for their Diligence in the Enquiry and Discovery of new Occurrences and State Secrets ; so the Spys and Intelligencers of Nature must be paid their Expences ; or else we shall never be advertised of many Things most worthy to be known. For if *Alexander* supplied *Aristotle* with a vast Sum of Money, to hire Hunters, Fowlers, Fishers, and others, that he might come the better appointed to compile a History of living Creatures ; greater certainly is their Merit, who wander not in the Forests of Nature, but open themselves a Way in the Labyrinths of the Arts.

ANOTHER Thing which I find fault with, is this : It is an usual Practice (tho' in my Opinion an absurd one) for Scholars in the Universities to be enter'd too soon in Logick and Rhetorick ; Arts surely fitter for
Gra-

Graduates, than Children and Novices. For these two (if the Matter be rightly taken) are in the Number of the gravest Sciences; being the Arts of Arts, the one for Judgment, the other for Ornament. Furthermore they contain Rules and Directions, either for the disposing, or illustrating of Matter: And therefore for Minds raw, and empty of Matter (and which have not yet gathered that which *Cicero* calls *Sylva* and *Suppellex*, *Stuff* and *Variety*) to begin with those Arts; (as if a Man should have a Mind to weigh, or measure, or paint the Wind,) doth work but this Effect; that the Virtue and Strength of these Arts (which are very great and extensive) are almost made contemptible, and have degenerated either into Childish Sophistry, and ridiculous Affectation; or at least have suffer'd much in their Reputation. And further, the too early, and untimely Accession to these Arts, hath of necessity drawn along with it a watery and jejune Delivery and Handling of the same, such as is fitted indeed to the Capacity of Children. Another Instance (that I shall bring) of an Error grown long since inveterate in the Universities, is This; That in the Exercises of the Schools, there uses to be a Divorce, very prejudicial, between Invention and Memory: For *there* most of their Speeches are either altogether premeditate, so that they are uttered in the very precise Form of Words they were conceived

ceived in, and nothing left to Invention; or merely *Extempore*, so that very little is left to Memory: (Whereas in Life and Practice, there is rarely any Use of either of these apart, but rather of their Intermixture, that is, of Notes or Memorials, and of *Extempore* Speech together.) So that by this Course, the Exercises do not fit the Practice, nor does the Image answer the Life. And it is a Rule ever to be observ'd in Exercises, that all, as near as may be, represent those Things which in common Course of Life use to be practis'd; otherwise they will pervert the Motions and Faculties of the Mind, and not prepare them. The Truth whereof is not obscurely seen, when University-Men set to the Practice of their Professions, or other Actions of Civil Life; which when they do, this Want, whereof we speak, is soon found out by themselves, but sooner by others. But this Part touching the Amendment of the Institutions and Orders of the Universities, I will conclude with the Clause of *Cæsar's* Letter to *Oppius* and *Balbus*; *Hoc quemadmodum fieri possit, nonnulla mihi in mentem veniunt, & multa reperiri possunt; de iis rebus rogo vos, ut cogitationem suscipiatis.*

ANOTHER Defect which I note, ascends a little higher than the former.
For

For as the Proficiency of Learning consists much in the wise Government and Institution of Universities in particular; so it would be yet more advanc'd, if the Universities in general, dispers'd throughout all *Europe*, were united in a nearer Conjunction and Correspondence by mutual Intelligence. For there are, we see, many Orders, and Communalities, which tho' they be divided under distinct Sovereignities, and Territories widely distant, yet do they contract and maintain a Society, and Kind of Brotherhood one with the other; insomuch as they have their Prefects, (some Provincial, others General) to whom they all yield Obedience. And surely, as Nature creates a Brotherhood in Families; and Arts Mechanical contract a Brotherhood in Companies; the Anointment of God superinduces a Brotherhood in Kings, and Bishops; Vows and Rules unite a Brotherhood in Orders: So in like manner, there cannot but intervene a noble and generous Fraternity, amongst Men, by Learning and Illumination; relating to that Paternity which is attributed to God, who is called the *Father of Illuminations*, or *Lights*.

LASTLY; This I complain of (which I touch'd before) that there hath not been, or very rarely been, any publick Designation of able Men, who might either write,
or

or make Enquiry, concerning such Parts of Learning, as have not been hitherto sufficiently labour'd. In which Point, it would be of main Use, if there were erected a kind of Visitation of Learning; and a Cense or Estimate taken, what Parts of Learning are rich, and well improv'd; what poor, and destitute. For the Opinion of Plenty is amongst the Causes of Want: And the great quantity of Books maketh a Shew rather of Luxury than Lack. Which Superfluity, nevertheless, is not to be remedied by making no more Books, but by making more good Books; which may be of such a Kind, that like *Moses* his Serpent, they may devour the Serpents of the Inchanters.

THE removing of all these Defects, now enumerated, except the last, and of the active Part of the last too, (which is the Designation of Writers) are Works truly *Basilical*; towards which, the Endeavours and Industry of a private Man, may be but as an Image in a Cross-way, that can point the Way, but cannot go it. But the speculative Part, which appertains to the Survey and Examination of Learning, (namely, what is deficient in every particular Science) is open to the Industry even of a private Man.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the History of LEARNING.

De Augmentis Scientiarum. Lib. 2. Cap. 4.



SURELY the History of the World, without this Part, may be thought not unlike the Statue of *Polyphe-mus* with his Eye out; that Part of the Image being wanting, which doth most represent the Nature and Spirit of the Person. And though we set down this as deficient, yet we are not ignorant, that in divers particular Sciences, as of the Jurisconsults, the Mathematicians, the Rhetoricians, the Philosophers, there are set down some slight Memorials, or certain jejune Relations of the Sects, Schools, Books, Authors, and Successions of such like Sciences: That there are likewise extant some thin barren

ten Treatises touching the Inventors of Things and Arts: But for a Just and Universal History of Learning, we assert that none hitherto hath been publish'd. Wherefore we will propound both the Argument, and the Manner of Contriving, and the Use thereof.

THE Argument is no other than a Recital from all Times, of what Knowledges and Arts have flourish'd in any Ages and Climates of the World. Let there be made a Rehearsal of their Antiquities, their Advances, also of their Progresses through divers Parts of the World; (for Sciences shift and remove no less than People.) Again, of their Declensions, Oblivions, Instaurations. Let there likewise be Observations made through every particular Art, of the Occasion and Original of their Invention; of their Manner of Delivery; of their divers Administrations and Managings. Let there also be added the Sects, and Controversies most famous, which have taken up and exercised Learned Men; the Scandals and Reproaches to which they lay open; the Praises and Honours wherewith they were graced. Let there be noted the chiefest Authors, the best Books, Schools, Successions, Academies, Societies, Colleges, Orders, and, in fine, whatsoever belongs to the State of Learning. But above all, we would have this observ'd, (which is the Ornament and Soul, as it were, of Civil History)

ry) that the Causes be coupled with the Events : that is, that the Natures of Countries and People be recorded ; and the Dispositions apt and able, or unapt and unable for divers Disciplines ; the Accidents of Times adverse, or propitious to Sciences ; the Zeals and Mixtures of Religions ; the Discountenances, and Favours of Laws ; and lastly, the eminent Virtues, and Sway of certain Persons, for the Promoting of Learning ; and the like. But our Advice is, That all these Points be so handled, that Time be not wasted in Praise and Censure, after the Manner of the Criticks ; but that the Things be barely related in a Manner perfectly Historical, and our own Judgment sparingly interposed.

AS to the *Manner* of Compiling such a History, we do especially admonish thus much ; That the Matter and Provision thereof be drawn, not only from Histories, and Criticks ; but also that through every Century of Years, or even lesser Intervals, by a continued Sequence of Time, (beginning from the highest Antiquity) the best Books written within those Spaces of Time, be consulted with ; to the end that, not from a through Perusal of them, (for that were an endless Work) but from a Taste and Observation of the Argument, Stile, and Method, the learned *Genius* of that Time, as by a Kind of Charm, may be call'd up from the Dead.

AS

AS to the *Use* of this Work, it is design'd to this End ; Not that the Honour, and Pomp of Learning, may be celebrated by so many Images every Way surrounding her ; nor that, for the ardent Affection we bear to Learning, we desire, even to Curiosity, to enquire, and know, and preserve whatsoever to the State of Learning may any way appertain ; but chiefly for a more serious and grave Purpose. It is in few Words this : For that, by means of such a Relation as we have described, we conceive a very great Addition may be made to the Wisdom and Skill of Learned Men, in the Use and Managing of Learning ; and that the Motions, and Perturbations, and the Vices and Virtues, of Intellectual Matters, as well as Civil, may be noted ; and the best Regimen from thence drawn and practis'd. For we do not suppose that St. *Austin's*, or St. *Ambrose* his Works will make so wise a Bishop or a Divine, as Ecclesiastical History thoroughly read and observ'd. Which we make no Question would be the Case of Learned Men also from the History of Learning. For what is not sustained and propt up with Examples and Records, is very apt to fall, and is expos'd to Rashness. Thus much of the *History of Learning*.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the Dignity and Difficulty of Civil History.

De Augmentis Scientiarum. Lib. 2. Cap. 5.



THE Dignity and Authority of Civil History is eminent among Human Writings. For upon the Credit of this, the Examples of our Ancestors, the Vicissitudes of Affairs, the Grounds of Civil Prudence; and lastly, the Name and Fame of Men depends. But the Difficulty is as great as the Dignity. For to draw back the Mind in Writing to Things past, and to make it as it were aged; to search out with Diligence; to relate with Fidelity and Freedom; finally, to represent to the Eye with Beauty and Clearness of Expression, the Changes of Times, the Characters of Persons, the Waverings of Counsels, the Turns and Windings of Actions, (as of Waters,) the inner Subtleties and Depths

of Pretences, and the Secrets of Government, is a Task of great Pains and Judgment ; especially since Antient Matters are subject to Uncertainty ; Modern, liable to Danger. Wherefore the Errors also are many which attend this same Civil History ; whilst the greatest Part write poor and vulgar Narrations, the very Reproach of History ; others patch up, in a rash Haste, and unequal Contexture, particular Relations, and brief Memorials ; others run over the Heads only of Actions done ; others, on the contrary, pursue every trivial Circumstance, nothing belonging to the Sum and Issue of Things ; some out of too much Indulgence to their own Wit, take the Confidence to feign many Things ; whilst others add and imprint upon Affairs the Image, not so much of their own Wit, as of their Affections, mindful of their own Sides and Parties, but unfaithful Deponents of Fact ; some every where interlace such politick Observations, as they most fancy, and seeking Occasion of Digression for Ostentation, too slightly break off the Narration ; others are injudiciously excessive in the Prolixity of their Speeches, and Harangues, or even of the very Facts ; so that it is sufficiently manifest, that in the Writings of Men, there is nothing found more rare than a just History, and in all Parts compleat and perfect.

C H A P. XV.

Of the Partition of Civil History.

De Augmentis Scientiarum.

Lib. 2. Cap. 6, &c.



C*VIL History* is of three Kinds, not unlike the three sorts of Pictures, or Images. For of Pictures, and Images, we see some imperfect and unfinished, as wanting the last Hand ; others perfect and finish'd ; others again decayed and defaced with Age. In like Manner we will divide *Civil History* (which is a sort of Image of Actions and Times) into three Kinds, agreeable to those of Pictures ; namely, *Memorials* ; *Perfect History* ; and *Antiquities*. *Memorials* are *Histories unfinish'd*, or the first and rude Draughts of History ; and *Antiquities* are *History defaced*, or some

Remnants of History, which have casually escaped the Shipwreck of Time.

MEMORIALS, or *Preparatory History*, are of two sorts; one whereof I think good to term *Commentaries*, the other *Registers*. *Commentaries* set down a naked *Series*, and Connexion of Actions and Events, omitting the Causes and Pretexts of Things, their Beginnings also and Occasions, the Counsels likewise and Speeches, and other Passages of Action. For this is the true Nature of *Commentaries*, tho' *Cæsar*, in Modesty mix'd with Greatness, was pleas'd to give the Name of *Commentary* to the best History in the World. But *Registers* are of a twofold Nature; for they comprehend either the Titles of Matter and Persons, in a Continuation of Time; such as we call *Calendars* and *Chronologies*; or the *Solemnities of Acts*, as the Edicts of Princes, the Decrees of Councils, Judicial Proceedings, Publick Orations, Letters of State, and the like, without a Contexture, or continued Thread of Narration.

ANTIQUITIES, or *Remnants of History*, are (as was said) *tanquam tabula naufragii*; like the scatter'd Planks of a Shipwreck; when the Memory of Things failing, and being almost drowned, nevertheless industrious and sagacious Men, by an obstinate and scrupulous Diligence, and Observation, out of Genealogies,

gies, Calendars, Inscriptions, Monuments, Coins, Proper Names and Styles, Etymologies of Words, Proverbs, Traditions, Archives, and Records as well publick as private, Fragments of Stories, scattered Passages of Books nothing Historical; out of all these, I say, or some of them, do rescue and save somewhat from the Deluge of Time.

JUST or *Perfect History* is of three Kinds, according to the Nature of the *Object*, which it propounds to it self to represent. For it either represents *some Portion of Time*; or *some memorable Person*; or *some more illustrious Action*. The first we call *Chronicles*, or *Annals*; the second, *Lives*; the third, *Relations*. Of these, *Chronicles* seem to excell in Glory and Name; *Lives* in Profit and Use; *Relations* in Sincerity and Truth. For *Chronicles* propound the Amplitude of Actions, and the publick Faces and Deportments of Persons, and pass over in Silence the smaller Passages and Motions of Men and Matters. And it being the peculiar Workmanship of God, to hang the greatest Weight upon the smallest Wyers; it comes many Times to pass, that this sort of History, pursuing only the greater Occurrences, does rather set forth the Pomp, and Solemnities of Affairs, than their true Springs, and more subtile Contextures. Further, tho' it add and intermix the Counsels themselves, yet delighting in Grandness,

it besprinkles Men's Actions with more Gravity and Prudence, than indeed is in them: So that a Satyr may be a truer Picture of Human Life, than some such Histories.

LIVES, on the other Hand, if they are written with Diligence and Judgment, (for I speak not of Elogies, and such like jejune Rehearsals) propounding to themselves a single Person for their Subject, in whom, Actions both slight and weighty, small and great, publick and private, are necessarily compounded and mix'd together; do certainly exhibit more lively, and faithful Narrations of Things, and which a Man may more safely and happily transfer into Example.

SO again, special *Relations* of Actions (as *the War of Peloponnesus, the Expedition of Cyrus, the Conspiracy of Catiline*; and the like) cannot but be more purely and exactly true, than *Just Histories* of Times; because in them may be chosen an Argument that is manageable, and limited; and of such a Quality, that exact Knowledge, and Certainty, and full Information may be had thereof; whereas on the other side, the *History of a Time* (such especially as is much antienter than the Age of the Writer) must needs in the Memory of Matters fail many Times, and contain blank Spaces; which he must be forced to fill up out of his own Wit and
Con-

Conjecture. Yet even this which we say touching the Sincerity of *Relations*, is to be understood with a Reserve; for it must indeed be confess'd, (since all Human Things Labour of Imperfection, and Conveniences are almost always accompanied with Inconveniences) that such Kind of Relations, especially if they be published about the Times of the Acts done (since they are many Times written either with Favour or Hatred) of all other Narrations, are deservedly most suspected. But then again, together with this Inconvenience, this Remedy also groweth up; That these same *Relations* (being they are not set out by one side only, but through Faction, and Partiality, are ever almost published on both sides) do by this Means open and prepare a Way, as between Extremes, to Truth: And after the Heat of Passion is over, to a good and wise Historian they become none of the worst Matter, and Seed-Plot of a more perfect History.

AS for *Lives*, when I think thereupon, I am seiz'd with a Kind of Admiration, that these our Times should not know their own Virtue; since there is so seldom any Memorial, or Records of the Lives of those who have been eminent in our Times. For although Kings, and such as have Absolute Sovereignty, may be few; and Princes in free Common-Wealths (so many States being con-

verted into Monarchies) are not many ; yet however there have not been wanting excellent Men (though living under Kings) that deserve better, than an uncertain and wandering Fame of their Memories, or dry and jejune Elogies. For to this Point, the Invention of one of the Modern Poets, whereby he hath enrich'd the antient Fiction, is not inelegant. He feigns, that at the end of the Thread of every Man's Life, there hangs a Medal, or Tablet, whereon the Name of the Deceased is stamp't ; and that Time waits upon the Sheers of the Fatal Sister, and as soon as the Thread is cut, immediately catches up the Medals, carries them away, and a little after throws them out of his Bosom into the River *Lethe* : And that about the River there are a World of Birds flying up and down, that snatch the Medals ; and after they have carried them about in their Beaks a little while, soon after, thro' Negligence suffer them to fall into the River : Amongst these Birds, that there are a few Swans found, which if they get a Medal, are wont immediately to carry it to a certain Temple, consecrated to Immortality. Now such Swans have almost fail'd in our Age. And although most Men, abundantly more mortal in their Pursuits and Studies, than in their Bodies, despise the Memory of their Name, as Smoke or Air, *Animi nil magnæ laudis egentes ; Degenerate Souls, and nothing Ambitious of Fame and Glory ;* such

such whose Philosophy and Severity springs from that Root, *Non prius laudes contempnimus, quam laudanda facere desivimus*; We did not begin to despise Praise, till we had left off doing Praise-worthy Things: Yet that with us, shall not prejudice Solomon's Judgment, *The Memory of the Just is blessed, but the Name of the Wicked shall rot.* The One perpetually flourishes; the Other either instantly passes into Oblivion, or putrifies into an ill Odour. And therefore in that very Style, or Form of Speech, which by receiv'd Custom, and with great Reason, is attributed to the Deceas'd, (*Of Happy Memory; Of Pious Memory; Of Blessed Memory;*) we seem to acknowledge that which Cicero (borrowing it of Demosthenes) alledg'd; *That a good Fame is the proper Possession of the Dead*: Which Possession I cannot but observe in our Age lies generally waste and neglected.

C H A P. XVI.

Of Ecclesiastical History.

De Augmentis Scientiarum.

Lib. 2. Cap. 11.



HISTORY Ecclesiastical in general, falls under the same Division in a manner with *History Civil*. For there are *Ecclesiastical Chronicles*; there are *Lives of Fathers*; there are *Relations of Synods*; and of the like Things appertaining to the Church. But in Propriety of Speech, it is rightly divided into *the History of the Church*; (keeping the general Name;) *the History of Prophecy*; and *the History of Providence*. The First describes the Times, and different State of the *Church Militant*; whether she be fluctuant, as the *Ark* in the *Deluge*; or moveable, as the *Ark*

in the *Wilderness* ; or at Rest, as the *Ark* in the *Temple* : That is, the State of the Church in *Persecution*, in *Remove*, and in *Peace*. In this Part I find no Deficiency ; rather there is Superfluity here than Want : Only this I could wish, that the Virtue and Sincerity of the Narrations answer'd to the Mass and Quantity.

THE Second Part, which is the *History of Prophecy*, consists of two Relatives, the *Prophecy* it self, and the *Accomplishment* thereof : And therefore the Nature of such a Work ought to be, that every Prophecy of Scripture be sorted with the Event fulfilling the same ; and this throughout all the Ages of the World, both for the better Confirmation of Faith, and for the establishing a kind of Art, and Skill, in the Interpretation of those Prophecies, which are yet unfulfilled : Allowing, nevertheless, that Latitude which is proper and familiar unto Divine Prophecies ; that their Accomplishments may be both perpetual, and punctual : For they are of the Nature of their Author, *with whom one Day is as a thousand Years, and a thousand Years as but one Day* : And though the Fullness and Height of their Complement may be assign'd to some one Age, or even Moment ; yet they have in the mean Time many Degrees, and Scales of Accomplishment, throughout divers
Ages

Ages of the World. This Work I set down as deficient; but it is of that Nature as must be handled with great Wisdom, Sobriety, and Reverence, or not at all.

THE Third Part, which is the *History of Providence*, hath fallen indeed under the Pens of many pious Men, but not without siding of Parties: It is employed in observing that Divine Correspondence which is between God's revealed Will, and his secret Will. For although the Counsels and Judgments of God are so obscure, that they are for the most part inscrutable to the Natural Man; yea, many Times withdraw themselves from *Their* Eyes, that look out of the Tabernacle; yet at some Times it pleaseth the Divine Wisdom, for the Confirmation of his Own, and the Confutation of those, who are *as without God in the World*; to write them in Capital Letters as it were, and to offer them to Sight so visibly, that (as the Prophet saith) *be that runs may read them*; that is, that meer Sensual and Carnal Men, that hasten by God's Judgments, and never fix down their Thoughts upon them; yet tho' they are upon the Speed, and intend nothing less, are urg'd to acknowledge them. Such are late and unlooked for Vengeances; sudden and unexpected Deliverances; the Divine Counsels, passing through crooked Mazes, and stupendous

dous Windings, and at length manifestly disintangling and clearing themselves ; and the like : Which serve not only for the Consolation of the Minds of the Faithful, but for the Astonishment and Conviction of the Consciences of the Wicked.

C H A P. XVII.

Of the Appendages of History.

De Augmentis Scientiarum.

Lib. 2. Cap. 12.



UT there ought to be Records kept not only of the *Deeds* of Mankind, but of their *Words* also. Yet is it true, that sometimes Words are inserted in the History it self, so far as they conduce to a perspicuous and grave Delivery of *Deeds*. But *Books* of *Orations*, *Epistles*, and *Apothegms*, are appropriated to the Custody of the *Sayings* or *Words* of Men. And certainly the *Orations* of wise Men, touching Business, and Matters of grave and high Importance, conduce much both to the Knowledge of the Things themselves, and to Eloquence.

BUT

BUT yet greater Helps for the furnishing Civil Prudence, are from the *Letters* of great Personages, touching Affairs of State. For of all the *Words* of Men, there is nothing, in my Judgment, more sound and excellent than these same *Letters*. For they are more natural than *Orations* ; and more advised, than *Extempore* Conference. The same, when they are continued according to the *Series* of Time, (as in those from Embassadors, Governors of Provinces, and other Ministers of State, to Kings or Senates ; or again from them to their Ministers) are without question, of all others, the best Provision for History, and to a diligent Reader, the best Histories themselves.

NEITHER are even Apothegms only for Delight, and Ornament, but for Business also, and Civil Use. For they are (as † He said) as it were *Secures* or *Mucrones verborum*, which by their sharp Edge cut and penetrate the Knots of Affairs and Business : And for Occasions, they run round in a Ring, and what was formerly proper, may be applicable, and of Use again ; whether a Man produce them as his own, or as antient. 'Tis great Pity *Cæsar's* Book of *Apothegms* is lost ;
for

† Cic. *Epist. Fam. Lib. 9.*

for as his History, and those few Letters of his which we have, and those *Apothegms* which were of his own, excell all Men's else ; so I suppose would his Collection of *Apothegms* have done : For as for those which are collected by others, either I have no taste in such Matters, or else their Choice hath not been happy.

AND so much for History, that part of Learning which answers to one of the Cells, or Domicils of the *Understanding*, that is to say, Memory.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of POETRY.

De *Augmentis Scientiarum.*Lib. 2. Cap. 13.



POETRY is a Part of Learning, in Measure of Words for the most part restrained, in Matter loose and licens'd: And doth truly refer to the *Imagination*; which being not tied to the Laws of Matter, may at Pleasure join that which Nature hath severed, and sever that which Nature hath joined, and so make unlawful Matches and Divorces of Things; *Pictoribus atq; Poetis, &c.* It is taken in two Senses, in respect of *Words*, or *Matter*. In the first Sense, it is but a *Character* of Style, and belongs to the Arts of Speech: In the latter, it is a principal Por-

tion of Learning, and is nothing else but *Feigned History*.

THE truest and properest Partition of Poetry, is into Poetry *Narrative*, *Representative*, and *Allusive*. The *Narrative* is a meer Imitation of History with the Excesses before-mentioned; chusing for Subject commonly Wars, and Love; rarely State, and sometimes Pleasure, or Mirth. *Representative*, is as it were a visible History; for it gives an Image of Actions as if they were present, as History does of Actions, in Nature as they are, that is, past. *Allusive*, or *Paraboli- cal*, is Typical History, which brings down the Intellectuals to Sense.

AS for *Narrative* Poetry, or if you please to call it *Heroical*, That (so you understand it of the *Matter*, not of the *Verse*) seems to be raised from a most noble Foundation, and which makes much for the Dignity of Man's Nature. For the Sensible World being inferior in Dignity to the Rational Soul; This *Poetry* seems to give to Human Nature what History denies it; and to satisfy the Mind with the Shadows at least of Things, where the Substance cannot be had. For if the Matter be thoroughly considered, a strong Argument may be drawn from *Poetry*, that a more illustrious Magnitude of Things, a more perfect

perfect Goodness, and a more beautiful Variety pleases the Soul of Man, than what it can any way find in meer Nature, since the Fall. Wherefore seeing the Acts and Events, which are the Subject of true History, are not of that Amplitude as to content the Soul of Man; *Poetry* is ready at hand to feign Acts Greater and more Heroical. Seeing true History propounds the Successes of Actions, in no wise proportionable to the Merit of Virtue and Vice; *Poetry* corrects it, and exhibits Issues and Fortunes more agreeable to Desert, and more according to the Law of Providence. Seeing true History, by representing Actions and Events more ordinary and less interchanged, satiates the Mind of Man; *Poetry* cheers and refreshes the same, chanting Things rare, and unexpected, and full of alternative Variations. So that *Poetry* serves and contributes not only to Delight, but also to Magnanimity and Morality. Wherefore it may seem, and with Reason too, to partake of a Kind of Divinity, because it erects and exalts the Spirit with high Raptures, by proportioning the Images of Things to the Desires of the Mind, not by buckling and bowing the Mind to the Nature of Things, as Reason and History do. And by these Allurements, and Congruities, whereby it soothes the Soul of Man, joined also with Consort of Musick, whereby it may more sweetly insinuate it self, it hath made it self a Way to Esteem,

even in very rude Times, and with barbarous Nations, where other Learning has stood wholly excluded.

DRAMATICAL Poetry, whose Theater is the World, is of excellent Use, if it were not abused. For both the Instruction and Corruption of the Theater may be great: But the Corruptions in this Kind abound; the Discipline is altogether neglected in our Times; nevertheless, although in Modern Commonwealths, the Action of the Theater be esteem'd but as a Matter wholly ludicrous, unless perchance it draw too much from the Satyr, and Bite; yet the Care of the Antients was, that it should instruct the Minds of Men to Virtue. Nay, wise Men, and great Philosophers have look'd upon it as a Kind of Musi-cal Quill of the Mind. And certainly it is most true, and as it were a Secret of Nature, that the Minds of Men are more open to Affections, and Impression, Congregate, than Solitary.

BUT *Poetry Parabolical*, excels the rest, and seems to be a sacred and venerable Thing; especially seeing Religion it self makes use often of its Service, and by its Ministry holds a Divine Commerce with Men. Yet even This also is found to have been adulterated by the Levity and Indulgence of Men's Wits about Allegories. And it is of ambiguous

ous Use, and applied to contrary Ends. For it serves to *Obscure*; and it serves also to *Illustrate*. In *This* there seems to be sought a *Way to Teach*: In *That*, an *Art to Conceal*. And this *Way of Teaching*, which tends to *Illustration*, was very much in Use in ancient Times: For when the Inventions and Conclusions of Human Reason, (even those which are now trite and common) were then strange and unusual; the Understandings of Men were not capable of such Subtilty, unless those Points were, by such Resemblances and Examples, brought down nearer to Sense. Wherefore all Things in those Ages, were full of Fables, and Parables, and *Ænigma's*, and Similitudes of all sorts. Hence the Symbols of *Pythagoras*; the *Ænigma's* of *Sphinx*; the Fables of *Æsop*; and the like. Furthermore, the Apothegms of the ancient Sages expressed a Thing generally by Similitudes. Hence *Menenius Agrippa* amongst the *Romans* (a Nation in that Age by no means Learned) repressed a Sedition by a Fable. In fine, as Hieroglyphicks were before Letters, so Parables were before Arguments. And even at this Day and ever, there is, and hath been much Life and Vigour in Parables; because Arguments cannot be so clear, nor even Examples so pat.

BUT there remains yet another Use of Poetry *Parabolical*, opposite in a manner to
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the former; tending, (as we said) to *Obscure*; such Things namely, the Dignity whereof deserves to be retired, and separated as it were by a Curtain: That is, when the Secrets and Mysteries of Religion, Policy, and Philosophy, are involv'd in Fables and Parables.

BUT whether there be any mystical Sense couched under the ancient Fables of the Poets, may admit some Doubt: And indeed I confess, for my part, that I incline to this Opinion, that many of the Fables of the Ancient Poets had a Mystery infused into them. Nor is it any Argument with me, to pass Judgment upon them contemptuously, because they are left commonly to School-Boys, and Grammarians, and are therefore little accounted of: But contrariwise, since it is manifestly clear, that the Writings, which recite these Fables, of all the Writings of Men, next to sacred Writ, are the most ancient; and that the Fables themselves are far more ancient than They; (for they are recited by those Writers, as credited and received before, not as invented by them) they seem to be like a fine rarified Air, which from the Traditions of more ancient Nations, fell into the Flutes of the *Grecians*. And because whatsoever hath been hitherto attempted for the Interpretation of these Parables, namely by unskilful Men, not learned beyond common Places, gives us no Satisfaction at all; we have thought good
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to enter *Philosophy according to ancient Parables*, in the Number of *Deficients*.

AND we will annex an Example or two of this Work: Not that it is a Matter perhaps of such Moment, but to keep up my Design: Which is this, if any Part of those Works which we place among the *Deficients*, be more obscure than ordinary, always to lay down either *Precepts* for Information in that Work, or *Examples*; least any one should think that we have only some light Notion of them in our Head; and like Augurs, can only measure Countries in our Mind, without knowing the Ways to them. As for any other Part defective in *Poetry*, we find none; nay rather *Poetry*, being a Plant springing as it were from a luxuriant Soil, without any certain Seed, hath grown up and spread above all other Kinds of Learning. But now we will propound *Examples*, in Number only Three; One from Things *Natural*; Another from *Political*; and a Third from *Moral*.

*The first Example of Philosophy, according to the Antient Parables, in Things Natural.**Of the Universe, according to the Fable of Pan.*

THE Antients have most exquisitely described Universal Nature under the Person of *Pan*. His Original they leave doubtful. For some say he was the Son of *Mercury*: Others give him a far different Kind of Birth; for they say, That all *Penelope's* Suitors had to do with her, from which promiscuous Act, *Pan*, the common Offspring, descended. And from this latter Account, no doubt, some of the Moderns entitled this ancient Fable by the Name of *Penelope*; a Thing frequent among them, when they transfer old Fictions to younger Persons and Names; and that many Times absurdly and foolishly; as here: *Pan* being one of the most Ancient Gods, and long before the Time of *Ulysses*, and *Penelope* held venerable for her Matron-like Chastity. There is a third Account of his Birth, not to be passed over neither: For some have reported him the Son of *Jupiter* and *Hybris*, that is, *Contumely*. But howsoever begotten, the *Parcæ* (they say) were his Sisters; who dwelt in a Cave under-ground; but *Pan's* Abode was in the open Air. *Pan*, as to his Figure, is thus described by Antiquity:
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With Horns, and those rising in a sharp Pyramidical Point even to Heaven; all his Body rough and shagged; his Beard very long; his Shape biform'd, above like a Man, but half Beast, and ending with the Feet of a Goat. The Ensigns of Jurisdiction that he bore, were, a Pipe of seven Reeds in his Left Hand; in his Right, a Sheep-Hook, or a Staff, at the upper End crooked, and bent inwards: He was clad in a Mantle made of a Leopard's Skin.

THE Dignities and Offices attributed to him are these; That he is the God of Hunters, of Shepherds also, and of all Rural Inhabitants; President also of Mountains; and next to *Mercury*, the Messenger of the Gods. Moreover, he was accounted the Leader and Commander of the Nymphs, which were always wont to dance the Rounds, and frisk about him: The *Satyrs* also, and elder than they, the *Sileni* were of his Train. He had Power also to strike Men with Terrors, and those especially vain and superstitious, which were termed *Panick Fears*. His Acts recorded are not many: The chiefest was, His Challenging *Cupid* to wrestle, by whom he was foiled in the Conflict. He caught also the Giant *Typhon* in a Net, and held him fast. They tell also, That when *Ceres* being sad, and in Resentment of the Rape of *Proserpine*, had hid her self; and that all the Gods, dis-

dispersing themselves several Ways, were earnestly in quest of her; it was only *Pan's* good Fortune, as he was Hunting, to light upon her, and discover where she was. He presumed also to put it to the Trial who was the better Musician, he or *Apollo*, and by the Judgment of *Midas* was indeed preferr'd; for which Judgment he receiv'd a Pair of Asses Ears, but privily and secretly. Amours of *Pan* there was none mentioned, or at least very few; a Thing to be wondered at, especially being among a Troop of Gods so profusely amorous. This only was said of them, That he was in Love with *Eccho*, who also was reputed his Wife; and one Nymph more, call'd *Syrinx*; towards whom, *Cupid*, in Anger and Revenge that he had offer'd to challenge him to wrestle, inflamed his Desire. He is reported also to have once taken the Moon aside into the high Woods. Neither had he any Issue, (which is a marvel also, seeing the Gods, especially those of the Male-Kind, were hugely prolifick) excepting only that he was the reputed Father of a certain Wench, call'd *Iambe*, that with merry Tales was wont to entertain Strangers, and who was thought by some to be his Daughter by his Wife *Eccho*. This (if any) is a noble Tale, and big, and strutting as it were with the Secrets and Mysteries of Nature. The Parable seems to be this:

PAN (as the very Name also imports) represents and holds forth *the All of Things*, or *Universal Nature*. Concerning his Original, there are but two Opinions, nor can there be more. For either he comes of *Mercury*, that is, the *Word* of God, (which both the Holy Scriptures put out of doubt, and the Philosophers themselves, such as were held any Thing Divine, saw;) or from *the confus'd Seeds of Things*. For they that held one simple Beginning of Things, either referr'd the same to God; or if they are for a material Beginning, they asserted it however to be various in Power; so that this whole Controversy may be reduced to that Distribution of the World's taking Beginning either from *Mercury*, or from *Penelope*, and all her Suitors.

Virg. Eclog. 6. 31.

*Namque canebat uti magnum per inane coacta
Semina terrarumq; animæq; marisq; fuissent,
Et liquidi simul ignis: ut his Exordia primis
Omnia, & ipse tener Mundi concreverit orbis.*

*He sung the secret Seeds of Nature's Frame;
How Seas, and Earth, and Air, and active Flame,
Fell through the mighty Void, and in their Fall
Were blindly gather'd in this goodly Ball.*

Dryden.

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THE third Generation of *Pan* is such, that the *Grecians* seem to have heard something of the *Hebrew* Mysteries, either by Intercourse with the *Egyptians*, or one Way or other; for it relates to the State of the World, not in its meer Production, but as exposed, and made subject to Death and Corruption, after the Fall of *Adam*. For that State was, and remains to this Day, the Offspring of God, and Sin. For the Sin of *Adam* was a Kind of *Contumely*, since *he desired to be like God*. And therefore this three-fold Account concerning the Production of *Pan*, may even seem true, if it be rightly distinguish'd both as to Things and Time. For this *Pan* (as we now behold and comprehend him) took Beginning from the Word of God, by the intermediate means of *confused Matter*, (which yet was created by God) and the stealing in of Prevarication, and thereby Corruption.

THE *Destinies*, or *Fates of Things* may well be reported and thought the Sisters of *the Nature of Things*; for the Chains of Natural Causes draw along with them the Beginnings of Things, the Durations, the Dissolutions, the Depressions, the Eminences, the Labours, the Felicities, and, in fine, whatsoever Fates can happen unto Things; so that the Chain of Nature, and the Thread of
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the Destinies, is in a manner the same Thing.

A G A I N ; the Ancients feign'd, that *Pan's* Abode was always in the open Air, but the *Parcæ* lived in a mighty subterraneous Cave, and from thence flew of a sudden with prodigious Swiftneſs to Men : Becauſe Nature, and the Face of the Universe is viſible and open ; but the Fates of Individuals are ſecret, and ſwift.

H O R N S are attributed to the World, becauſe Horns are broad at the Root, and ſharp at the Ends ; the Nature of all Things being acute in the Faſhion of a Pyramid. For Individuals, in which the Baſis of Nature is ſpread forth, are infinite ; theſe are collected into *Species*, and thoſe many and various : Again, *Species* riſe into Generals, and theſe alſo aſcending are contracted into more univerſal Generalities ; ſo that at length Nature may ſeem to be contracted into an Unity as it were ; which is ſignify'd by the *Pyramidical Figure* of *Pan's Horns*. Neither is it to be wonder'd at, that *Pan* touches even Heaven with his Horns ; ſeeing the Heights of Nature, or Univerſal Idea's do, in ſome ſort, reach to Things Divine. Hence *Homer's* famous Chain (*viz.* of Cauſes Natural) is ſaid to be tied to the Foot of *Jupiter's Chair* ; and it is plain, that no Man converſant in Meta-
phyſicks,

physicks, and Things in Nature Eternal, and Immoveable, that has never so little withdrawn his Mind from the Flux of Things, but he instantly falls upon Natural Theology; so ready and short is the Passage from the Top of the Pyramid to Matters Divine.

THE Body of *Pan* is most elegantly and truly drawn *Hairy*, because of the Rays or Beams of Things. For Rays are as it were the Hairs or Shag of Nature; and all Things in a manner are more or less Beamy: Which is most apparent in the Faculty of Sight; and no less in every magnetick Virtue, and Operation at a Distance. For whatsoever operates at a Distance, may rightly be said to dart forth Rays.

MOREOVER, *Pan's* Beard is said to be exceeding long, because the Rays of Heavenly Bodies, and especially the Sun, operate and pierce farthest of all; so that they have perfectly turn'd, and subdued, and fill'd with their Spirit, not only the Surface of the Earth, but the inner Parts also, to some Distance. And this of the Beard is the more elegant, because the Sun himself, when his higher half is shadowed with a Cloud, and his Beams break out in the lower, looks as if he were *Bearded*.

NATURE

NATURE also is excellently describ'd *Biform*, because of the Difference of Superior and Inferior Bodies. For *Those*, because of their Beauty, and Equality and Constancy of Motion, and their Dominion also over the Earth, and earthly Things; are deservedly represented under a Human Figure; Human Nature participating of Order and Dominion: But *These*, because of their Disorder, and irregular Motions; as also because they are mostly governed by the Heavenly Bodies; may well be contented with the Figure of a Brute Creature. Again, this same Description of the Biform Body relates to the Participation of Species: For no Species of Nature seems to be simple, but participating as it were, and compounded of Two. For a Man hath something of a Brute, a Brute something of a Plant, a Plant something of an inanimate Body, and all Things indeed are Biform, and compounded of a Superior and Inferior Species.

IT is a witty Allegory, that of the *Goat's Feet*, by Reason of the ascending of earthly Bodies towards the Regions of the Air and the Heaven, where they become pensile, and from thence are rather cast down, than descend. For the Goat is a mounting Animal, and loves to be hanging upon Rocks and Precipices: And this is done also, and in a wonderful

derful manner, even by those Things which are destin'd to this Inferior Globe; as manifestly appears in Clouds and Meteors.

THE two Ensigns, which *Pan* bears in his Hands, point, the one at *Harmony*, the other at *Empire*. For the *Pipe* consisting of *seven Reeds*, evidently shews the Concert and Harmony, and discordant Concord of Things, which is caused by the Motion of the seven Planets. The *Staff of Empire* is a noble Allusion, by Reason of the Ways of Nature, which are partly strait, and partly oblique. It is especially crooked at the upper End, because all the Works of Divine Providence in the World are commonly fetcht about by Circuits and Windings; so that one Thing may seem to be aimed at, and the contrary done; as *the Selling of Joseph into Egypt*. Besides, in all wise Human Governments, those that sit at the Helm, do more happily bring their Purposes about, and insinuate more easily Things fit for the People, by Pretexts, and oblique Courses, than by direct Methods.

PAN's Cloak or *Manile* is ingeniously feign'd to be made of the Skin of a Leopard, because of the Spots every where interspers'd. For the Heavens are powder'd with Stars, the Sea sprinkled with Islands, the Land with Flowers, and all particular Things are commonly diversify'd with various Colours

Colours about the Superficies, which is as it were *the Mantle of a Thing*.

THE Office of *Pan* can be by nothing so lively set forth and represented, as by his being *the God of Hunters*. For every Natural Action, nay even Motion and Progression, is nothing else but *Hunting*. For Arts and Sciences have their Works, and Human Counsels their Ends, which they *bunt after* ; and all Natural Things hunt either their Food, in order to preserve ; or their Delight and Pleasure, in order to perfect their Nature ; and this in a most discerning and sagacious manner.

Virg. Ecl. 2. 63.

*Torva leana lupum sequitur, lupus ipse capellam,
Florentem Cytisum sequitur lasciva capella.*

*The greedy Lyonsess the Wolf pursues,
The Wolf the Kid, the wanton Kid the Browze.*
Dryden.

PAN is also said to be the God of *all Country Inhabitants* in general, because Men of this Condition live more agreeably to Nature ; whereas in Cities and Courts, Nature is corrupted by too much Art and Dress, inso-much as that of the Poet about Love matters,

is verified, upon the Account of those Delicacies, as to Nature also.

Pars minima est ipsa puella sui.

*The Maid so tricks her self with Art,
That of her self she is least part.*

HE is held to be the *President* of *Mountains*; because in *Mountains* and high *Places*, Nature lays her self most open to the *Eye* of *Contemplation*. In that *Pan* is *Messenger of the Gods*, next to *Mercury*; that is a most *Divine Allegory*; since next to the *Word* of *God*, the very *Image* of the *World*, proclaims the *Divine Power* and *Wisdom*. As sings the sacred *Poet*, *Psf. xix. 1. The Heavens declare the Glory of God, and the Firmament shews his Handy-Work.*

PAN is delighted with the *Nymphs*, that is, *Souls*: For the *Darlings* of the *Universe*, are the *Souls* of *Living Creatures*. He is well called their *Leader* or *Commander*, since they all follow *Nature* as their *Guide*; and with infinite *Variety*, every one of them, after the *Fashion* of his *Country*, doth leap and dance with incessant *Motion* about her.

THE *Satyrs* and *Sileni* are perpetually of his *Train*; that is *Youth*, and *Old Age*; for of all natural *Things*, there is a merry, and

as it were a dancing Age; and again, a dull, flegmatick tippling Age. And the Pursuits and Humours of both these Ages, to a true Contemplative, (such as *Democritus*) may perchance seem as ridiculous and deform'd, as a *Satyr*, or a *Silenus*.

AS to the *Panick Terrors*, they hold forth a very wise Instruction. For Nature hath implanted in all living Creatures a Fear and Dread, tending to the Preservation of their Life and Being, and to the shunning and repelling of the Invasion of evil Things. Nevertheless, the same Nature knows not how to keep a Mean, but always intermixes vain and empty Fears with good and wholesome ones; so that all Things (if their Insides might be seen) are very full of *Panick Frights*; especially Things Human; and above all other, the Common People, who are infinitely troubled and tossed with Superstition, (which in truth is nothing but a *Panick Fright*) especially in hard, and dangerous, and adverse Times. Nor does this Superstition reign only in the Vulgar, but from the Opinions of the Vulgar sometimes breaks out upon wise Men too, insomuch as *Epicurus* (if his other Discourses about the Gods had been answerable) spake divinely; *To deny the Gods of the Vulgar is not profane; but to apply the Opinions of the Vulgar to the Gods, is profane indeed.*

AS to the *Audaciousness of Pan, and his Combat, upon Challenge, with Cupid*; the Meaning is, That Matter wants not Inclination and Desire to dissolve and throw back the World again into its ancient *Chaos*, did not the powerful Agreement of Things (signified by *Love or Cupid*) restrain and keep in Order his Malice and Violence. Therefore it was a happy Turn for Men, and the World, that *Pan* was worsted and conquer'd in that Conflict.

TO the same purpose is *his Hampering Typhon in a Net*; because howsoever vast and unwonted Tumors in Nature (this *Typhon* imports) may sometimes happen, whether the Seas swell, or the Clouds swell, or the Earth swells, or any Thing else; yet Nature intangles and restrains in an inextricable Toil the Exuberances and Insolencies of such-like Bodies, and ties them down as it were with an Adamantine Chain.

IN that the *finding of Ceres*, is attributed to this God, and that, as he was Hunting; but is denied to the rest of the Gods, though they sought her earnestly, and did nothing else: It carries with it a very true and wise Admonition; that is, that we expect not the Invention of Things useful for Life and Convenience, from abstracted Philosophies, as
from

from the Gods of the First Rank, tho' they apply themselves thereto with all their Strength ; but only from *Pan*, that is, from Sagacious Experience, and an Universal Knowledge of the World ; which is wont to light upon such Inventions, even by chance, and as it were a Hunting. For the most profitable Inventions are owing to Experience, and have been as certain Donatives accidentally scatter'd among Men.

THE Musical Contest, and the Event thereof, gives us a wholesome Lesson, and such as may serve to restrain within the Bounds of Sobriety the Exulting and Insolence of Human Reason and Judgment. For there seems to be a twofold Harmony, and *Musick* as it were, the one of the Divine Wisdom, the other of Human Reason. For to Human Judgment, and to the Ear as it were of Mortals, the Administration of the World and Nature, and the more secret Judgments of God, sound somewhat harsh, and as it were discordant : Which Folly, tho' it be deservedly mark'd with Asses Ears, yet those very Ears are secret, and do not openly appear. For the Deformity of this Thing is not seen or noted by the Vulgar.

LASTLY ; It is no Wonder at all, that no Amours are attributed to *Pan*, except his Marriage with *Eccho* : For the World or Na-

ture enjoys it self, and in it self all Things else : Now he that Loves, would Enjoy ; but where there is enough, there is no Place left for Desire. Therefore there can be no Amours of *Pan*, nor Desire of Enjoyment, (being contented with himself) unless perchance the Amours of *Speech*. And these are the Nymph *Eccho*, a Thing not solid, but vocal ; or if they are more accurate, *Syrinx*, that is to say, when Words and Voices are regulated by certain Measures, whether Poetical, or Oratorical, and are as it were Modulated. And above all other Speeches or Voices, *Eccho* alone is excellently chosen for *Pan's* Wife : For that, when all is done, is true Philosophy, which faithfully returns the Voices of the World it self, and was taken from the Mouth as it were of the World dictating ; and is nothing but the Image and Reflexion of the same ; and adds nothing of its own, but only iterates and resounds. For as to *Pan's* calling aside the *Moon* into the high Woods, it seems to relate to the Congress of Sense with Things Heavenly or Divine. For the Case of *Endymion* and *Pan* are different : The Moon of her own Accord comes down to *Endymion* sleeping ; for that Divine Illuminations sometimes slide into the Understanding, cast asleep, and retired from the Senses : But if they are sent for, and invited by Sense, as by *Pan*, then they yield no other Light, than that,

*Quale sub incertam Lunam sub luce maligna
Est iter in Sylvis* Virg. Æn.

*Thus wander Travellers in Woods by Night,
By the Moon's doubtful, and malignant Light.*
Dryden.

IT makes also for the Sufficiency and Perfection of the World, that he has no Issue. For the World doth generate in respect of its Parts; but in respect of the whole, how can it generate, since there is no Body without, or beside it self? For as to the young Girl *Iambe*, the Reputed Daughter of *Pan*, that certainly is a very wise Addition to the Fable. For by her are represented those vain and idle Paradoxes concerning the Nature of Things, which in all Ages run about every where, and fill all Places, for the Matter fruitless, for the Kind supposititious as it were, but in respect of their Garrulity sometimes pleasant, sometimes troublesome and impertinent.

The Second Example of Philosophy, according to Ancient Parables, in Politicks.

Of War, according to the Fable of Perseus.

PERSEUS, tho' bred and born in the East, is reported to have been sent by *Pallas* to cut off *Medusa's* Head, who was a mighty Pest to abundance of Countries in the West, about the utmost Coasts of *Iberia*. For this Monster was so dire and horrible, that with her bare Aspect she turn'd Men into Stone.

THIS *Medusa* was one of the *Gorgons*, and the only one of them that was Mortal; the other not being Passive. *Perseus* therefore preparing himself for so noble an Enterprize, had Arms and Gifts bestowed on him by three of the Gods; Of *Mercury* he received Wings to his Feet; Of *Pluto*, a Helmet; Of *Pallas*, a Shield and Looking-Glass. Nevertheless, though he was so well furnish'd, he march'd not directly against *Medusa*, but turn'd off first to the *Grea*; these, by the Mother's Side, were Sisters to the *Gorgons*; and from their Birth Hoary-headed, and resembling Old Women. They had but one
Eye

Eye and one Tooth among them all ; which as any had Occasion to go abroad, they wore in their Turns, and when they came Home used to lay down again. Now this Eye and this Tooth they lent to *Perseus*. And thus judging himself compleatly appointed for effecting his Design, he hastens to *Medusa* with winged Speed. Her he found sleeping, yet durst not venture himself with his Face towards her, (least she should chance to awake) but turning his Head aside, and looking in *Pallas* her Glass, and so directing his Blow, cut off her Head: From whose Blood, shed upon the Ground, instantly started up Winged *Pegasus*. Her Head thus smote off, *Perseus* transfers and inserts into *Pallas* her Shield, which still retained its Virtue ; so that all that looked upon it, became senseless and motionless, as tho' they were Thunder-struck, or Planet-struck.

THIS Fable seems to be devised for a Direction as to the Method and Wisdom of making War. And First ; The Undertaking of every War ought to be as a Commission from *Pallas* ; certainly not from *Venus*, (as the Trojan War was) or upon any other slight Motive ; because Resolutions concerning Wars ought to be founded upon solid Counsels. Then as to the Choice of the Kind or Sort of War, the Fable lays down three very sound and important Precepts.

FIRST ;

FIRST; That a Prince trouble not his Head much concerning *the Conquest of Neighbour Nations*: For the Ways of enlarging an Estate, and an Empire, are different; for in the Case of private Possessions, the Vicinity of Farms is considered; but in the Propagation of Empire, Occasion, and the Facility of making War, and the Advantage thereof, ought to be instead of Propinquity. Therefore *Perseus*, tho' an Eastern Prince, refused not so remote an Expedition, even to the extreme Parts of the West. There is a notable President of this in the different manner of Warring, of two Kings, a Father and a Son, viz. *Philip* and *Alexander*. For the Former being taken up in Wars with neighbouring People, added a few Cities to his Empire, and this not without the utmost Contention and Peril; being brought into the utmost Hazard, as at other Times, so especially in the *Theban War*: But *Alexander* nobly and prosperously attempting a remote Expedition against the *Persian*, subdued infinite Nations, tired more with Marching than Fighting. The same Thing is more evident, in the Propagation of the Empire of the *Romans*, who, at what Time they had scarce carried their Western Conquest beyond *Liguria*, did yet in the East bring all the Provinces as far as Mount *Taurus*, within the Compass of their Arms and Command. So *Charles the Eighth*,
King

King of *France* finding the *Britannick* War (which was at last ended by Marriage) not so feasible, accomplish'd his remote *Neapolitan* Expedition with wonderful Ease and Felicity. Certainly remote Wars have this Advantage, that the Fight is with those who are not practis'd in the Discipline and Arms of the Aggressor; but in Wars upon Borderers, the Case is different. Besides, the Preparation in such Expeditions is usually more diligent and greater; and the Terror in the Enemy encreas'd from the Boldness of the very Attempt. Nor can there be made, in those remote Expeditions, by Enemies attack'd so far off, any Diversion, or reciprocal Invasion, which, in the Course of War with Borderers, is frequent. But the chief Point of all is, that in subduing Borderers, there is but small Choice of Occasions; but if a Man be for remote Expeditions, he may at Pleasure transfer the War, where either Military Discipline is most relax'd, or the Strength of the Nation most wasted and worn, or Civil Disorders seasonably set on foot, or such like Opportunities present themselves.

THE Second Precept is, That there be always a Just, and Religious, and Honourable, and Plausible Ground of War. For that begets Alacrity, as well in the Soldiers that fight, as in the People that pay; it opens and procures Alliances, and is attended with many

ny other Advantages. But amongst the Causes of War, That is most plausible, which leads to the suppressing of Tyrants, under whom the People sink, and are cast down flat without Spirit and Vigor, as *at the Sight of Medusa*; and this procured Divinity to *Hercules*. Certainly it was a great Point of Conscience amongst the *Romans*, with Vigour and Activity to haste to the Succour and Defence of their Allies, that were any way oppress'd. Wars also for a just Revenge have ever been prosperous, as the War against *Bru- tus* and *Cassius*, to revenge the Death of *Cæ- sar*; that of *Severus* to revenge the Death of *Pertinax*; of *Junius Brutus*, for the Death of *Lucretia*. In a Word, whosoever by War either lighten or revenge the Calamities and Injuries of Men, bear Arms under *Perseus*.

THE Third is, That in the Undertaking of any War, a true Estimate be made of one's Strength: And that it be rightly weigh'd, whether it be such a War, as may be effected and brought to a Period, least vast and boundless Hopes be pursued. For of the Gorgons, (by which Wars are represented) Perseus wisely made Choice of her, that in her Nature was Mortal, and did not set his Mind upon Impossibilities.

AND thus far the Fable instructs us as to the Things that fall under Deliberation in
the

the Undertaking of War ; the rest pertain to the War it self. In War these three *Gifts of the Gods* are of all Things the most prevalent, so as in a Manner they govern and lead Fortune it self after them. For *Perseus* receiv'd *Speed* from *Mercury* ; *Concealing of Counsels* from *Orcus* ; and *Forecast* from *Pallas*. Neither is it without an Allegory, and that a most wise one too, that those *Wings of Speed* are fasten'd to his *Heels*, and not to his *Shoulders* ; because *Celerity* is required, not so much in the first Attacks of War, as in those Things that follow, and that second and back the first. For there has been no Error in War more frequent, than that Prosecution, and subsidiary Attacks fail to answer the Alacrity of the first Onsets. As for the *Helmet of Pluto*, (which was wont to render Men Invisible) that is a plain Parable. For *Concealing of Counsels*, next to *Celerity*, is of greatest Moment in War : Whereof *Celerity* it self is a great Part. For Speed prevents the divulging of Counsels. It pertains to *Pluto's Helmet*, that there be but one General of the War, with free Commission ; for Consultations with many partake more of the *Plumes of Mars*, than of the *Helmet of Pluto*. To the same also pertain various Pretexts, and doubtful Designations, and emissary Reports, which either dazzle, or turn aside Men's Eyes, and place the true Aims of Counsels in the dark. Again, diligent and suspicious Cautions touch-
ing

ing Letters, Embassadors, Deserters, and many the like Provifo's, adorn and begirt *the Helmet of Pluto*.

BUT it is of as great Importance, to explore *the Counsels of the Enemy*, as to conceal one's own. Therefore to the *Helmet of Pluto* we must join *the Looking-Glass of Pallas*, whereby the Strength, the Weakness, the secret Abettors, the Divisions and Factions, the Proceedings and Counsels of the Enemy may be discern'd. And because War is liable to such Casualties, there is not much depending either upon concealing our own Designs, or discovering those of the Enemy, no nor upon Celerity it self; therefore above all Things we must take *the Shield of Pallas*, that is of *Providence*, that as little as possible may be left to Fortune. Hitherto belong, the sending out of Scouts to examine the Ways, the Fortifying of Camps with Care and Diligence, (which in the Modern Discipline is almost grown out of Use; but the *Roman* Camps were fortified like Cities against all adverse Events of War) a settled well-order'd Field of Battel, not trusting too much to the light Bands, or even to the Troops of Horse; in a Word, all Things pertaining to a substantial and careful Defensive; seeing in Wars the *Shield of Pallas* does more, than even *the Sword of Man*.

BUT

BUT *Perseus*, howsoever furnish'd with Forces and Courage, is to do yet another Thing of special Importance throughout the whole Action, before he enter the Lists: That is, to turn aside to the *Grea*. Now these *Grea* are *Treasons* and *Treacheries*. Sisters of War you must know, but half Sisters only, and inferior in Nobleness of Birth. For Wars are generous, *Treasons* base and ignoble. Their Description is elegant, hoary from their Nativity, and like Old Women, by Reason of their continual Cares and Fears of Traytors. Their Strength (before they break out into open Rebellion) consists either in an *Eye*, or in a *Tooth*. For every Faction, alienated from a State, and propense to *Treason*, both *Spies* and *Bites*. And this *Eye* and *Tooth* is common as it were; for whatsoever they have learn'd and know, is handed in a manner, and runs from one to another. And for the *Tooth*, they bite alike, and with one Mouth as it were, and cast the same Scandals; so that, Hear one, and you Hear all. A *Perseus* therefore must engage these *Grea* to him, and win them to his Aid, that they may lend him their *Eye* and *Tooth*; The *Eye* for Discoveries; The *Tooth* for the sowing and spreading of Rumours, for the raising of Envy, and troubling the Minds of Men.

AND

AND when all Things are well prepared and disposed for War, That in the first Place must be taken Care, which *Perseus* did, to find *Medusa sleeping*. For a wise Undertaker of War always almost attacks the Enemy unprepared, and when he is most secure. Lastly, in the very Action and Heat of War, *the looking into Pallas her Glass* is particularly useful. For most Men, before the Danger, can look acutely into, and consider attentively the State of the Enemy; but in the very Point of Danger, they are either amaz'd and confounded with Fear, or in a rash manner fronting Dangers too directly precipitate themselves into them, mindful of Victory, but forgetful of Escape, or Retreat. Yet neither of these should be done; but they should look in the *Glass of Pallas* with a *reflex'd Countenance*, that so the Stroke may be rightly directed, without either Terror or Rage.

AFTER the War finish'd, and the Victory won, there follow two Effects; The *Generating and Starting up of Pegasus*; which plainly enough denotes *Fame*, that flies over the World, and proclaims Victory, and renders the Remains of the War easy, and the Issue prosperous. Secondly, the *bearing of Medusa's Head* in his *Shield*; to which there is no Kind of Defence for Excellency comparable. For *one only* famous and memorable
Action,

Action, prosperously carried on and atchieved, deadens all Motion in the Enemy, and stupifies Envy her self.

The Third Example in Philosophy, according to Ancient Parables, in Morality.

Of Desire, according to the Fable of Dionylus:

THEY tell, That *Semele*, a Mistress of *Jupiter*, having oblig'd him by an Inviolable Oath, to grant her an indefinite Request, desir'd that he would come to her Bed, in the same manner as he came to *Juno's*. So she perish'd with Lightning. But the Infant, which she bare in her Womb, was taken out by the Father, and put into his Thigh, till the Months were accomplish'd that it should be born. The Burden, however, made *Jupiter* somewhat to limp. Whereupon the Child, because it incumber'd and prick'd *Jupiter*, whilst he bore it in his Flank, was call'd *Dionysus*. Being born, it was nurs'd for several Years by *Proserpine*; and when it was grown up, it had such a Maiden Face, that a Man could hardly tell whether it were

Boy or Girl. He died also, and was buried for some Time, and not long after revived again. In his tender Youth, he first invented and taught the Dressing of the Vine, the Making also, and Use of Wine; for which becoming famous and renowned, he subjugated the World, even to the utmost Bounds of *India*. He rode in a Chariot drawn by Tygers. There danced about him certain deformed Hobgoblins, called *Cobali*, *Acratus*, and others. Nay, and the *Muses* joined themselves to his Retinue. He took to Wife *Ariadne*, deserted and left by *Theseus*. The Tree sacred unto him was the Ivy. He was held the Inventor also and Institutor of sacred Rites and Ceremonies, but of such sort, as were Frantick, and full of Debauchery, and Cruelty also. He had Power likewise to strike Men with Madness. At least in his Orgies, two celebrated Men *Pentheus* and *Orpheus* are said to have been torn in pieces by certain distracted Women: The One, for getting up a Tree, out of Curiosity, to behold their Ceremonies; the Other, for playing sweetly and skilfully upon his Harp. And for the Achievements of this God, they are commonly confounded with the Acts of *Jupiter*.

THIS Fable seems to pertain to *Morality*, insomuch as Moral Philosophy affords nothing better. Under the *Person of Bacchus* there is described the *Nature of Desire*, or of the Passions

sions and Perturbations of the Mind. First therefore, as to the *Birth and Parentage of Desire*, the *Origin* of all *Desire*, tho' never so pernicious or wicked, is no other than *Good Apparent*. For as the Mother of Virtue is *Good Existing*, so the Mother of Desire is *Good Appearing*. The One, the lawful Wife of *Jupiter*, (under whose Person the Soul of Man is represented;) the Other, his Concubine; who yet emulates the Honour of *Juno*, as *Semele* did. *Desire* is conceiv'd in an unlawful Wish rashly granted, before rightly understood and judg'd of. And after it has begun to kindle up, its Mother (that is, the Nature and Appearance of Good) by *too much Fire* is destroyed and perishes. The Proceeding of *Desire* from its first Conception is after this manner: It is nurs'd, and concealed by *the Mind of Man*, (which is its Father) especially in the inferior Part thereof, the *Thigh* as it were, and pricks, and girds, and depresses the Mind, so as to hinder and *lame* its Actions and Resolutions. Furthermore, after it is confirm'd by Consent and Time, and breaks out into Act, so that it has now in a manner *fulfill'd its Months*, and is fairly brought forth and born, at first for some Time however it is educated with *Proserpine*, that is, *it seeks Holes and Corners*, and is clandestine, and under-ground as it were; until *the Reins of Shame and Fear* being laid aside, and improv'd in Boldness, it either assumes

the Cloak of some Virtue, or despises Infamy it self. And this is most true, that every vehement Passion is as it were *of the Doubtful Gender*. For it has the Fierceness of a *Man*, but the Weakness and Impotence of a *Woman*.

THAT likewise is an excellent Fiction, *That Bacchus died, and came to Life again*. For Passions sometimes, seem fast asleep, and even dead, but there is no trusting of them, no though they were buried; for let there be but Matter and Opportunity offered, and they'll rise again.

THE *Invention of the Vine* is a wise Parable; for every Affection is very ingenious and quick in finding out that which nourishes and cherishes it. And of all Things known to Men, Wine is most powerful, and efficacious, to excite and kindle Passions of what Kind soever; being in a manner the *common Incentive* to Desires in general.

AGAIN; *Passion or Desire* is elegantly represented *a Subduer of Provinces*, and an Undertaker of infinite Expeditions. For it never rests content with what it has purchased, but with an infinite and insatiable Appetite still covets and gapes after more.

TIGERS

TIGERS also *stable* by *Affections*, and are sometimes *put* to their *Chariot*. For when once a *Passion* is from *going a-foot* advanced to ride in a *Chariot*, and has captivated Reason, and leads her as it were in *Triumph*, it grows cruel, unmanageable, and fierce against all that withstand or oppose it.

AND it is a pretty Fiction, *The Dancing* of those deform'd ridiculous *Demons* about *Bacchus his Chariot*. For every vehement *Passion* causes in the *Eyes*, and in the very *Face*, and *Gesture*, certain indecent, disorderly, capering, and deform'd *Motions*; so that they who in any *Passion*, (as *Anger*, *Arrogance*, *Love*,) may perhaps seem glorious and brave in their own *Eyes*, do yet appear to others ugly and ridiculous.

THE Muses also are seen in the *Train of Desire*. For there is hardly any *Passion* to be found so deprav'd and vile, which is not soothed by some Kind of *Learning*. For in this Particular, the *Indulgence*, and *Immodesty* of *Wits* hath hugely derogated from the *Majesty* of the *Muses*; that whereas they ought to be the *Guides* and *Standard-Bearers* of *Life*, they many Times become the *Handmaids* and *Procurers* to *Lust*.

BUT that is a most noble Allegory, *Bacchus's letting loose his Affections* upon her that had been *abandon'd* and nauseated by another. For it is a most certain Truth, that Passions covet and court that which Experience hath long since rejected. And let all those know, who being Slaves to, and indulging their Passions, set an immense Value upon gaining their Point, (whether they court Honours, or Mistresses, or Glory, or Science, or whatever else) that they seek after *Things abandon'd*, and by divers Men, in all Ages almost, after Experience, dismiss'd and cast off.

NEITHER is it without Mystery, that the Ivy was sacred to *Bacchus*, for this holds two Ways; First; In that *the Ivy is green in Winter*; Secondly; In that it creeps about, and overspreads, and mounts upon so many Things, Trees, Walls, Edifices. Touching the first, every *Desire* by *Resistance*, and Forbiddance, and by a Kind of Antiperistasis, (like the *Ivy* by the Winters Colds) grows fresh and lively, and gathers Vigor: Secondly, every predominant *Affection* in the Soul of Man, incloses and hedges in, like the *Ivy*, all his Actions and Resolves; neither can you find any Thing almost untainted, and which That does not clinch as it were with its Tendrels.

NEI-

NEITHER is it any Wonder, that *Superstitious Rites* should be attributed to *Bacchus*, since every mad *Affection* in false Religions, keeps in a manner *Revel rout* ; so that the vile Rabble of Hereticks hath out-done the Bacchanals of the Heathen ; and their Superstitions also have been no less bloody than filthy. Nor is it a Wonder again, that *Bacchus* should be thought to send *Madness*, seeing every *Affection* in the *Excess* thereof, is a Kind of *short-liv'd Distraction*, and if it continue long, and with any Thing of Violence, concludes many Times in Madness.

AS to the rending and dismembring of *Pentheus* and *Orpheus*, in the Celebration of the *Orgies of Bacchus*, the Parable is plain ; since every prevalent *Affection* is very outrageous against, and a most deadly Enemy to two Things ; one whereof is, a curious *Enquiry into it* ; the other, *free and wholesome Admonition*. Nor will it avail, that the Enquiry is made, only to contemplate and behold, like climbing a Tree, without any Malignity of Mind : Nor again, that the Admonition be given with a great deal of Sweetness and Dexterity ; but be that as it will, the *Orgies* cannot bear either a *Pentheus*, or an *Orpheus*.

LASTLY; That *Confusion of the Persons of Jupiter and Bacchus* may be well transferr'd to a Parable; seeing noble and famous *Atchievements*, and remarkable and glorious Merits, proceed sometimes from Virtue, and right Reason and Magnanimity; and sometimes again from a *latent Affection*, and a hidden Desire, (both equally affecting Glory and Renown;) so that it is not easy to distinguish the Acts of *Dionysus* from those of *Jupiter*.

C H A P. XIX.

Of the Triumphs of Man.

De Augmentis Scientiarum.

Lib. 4. Cap. 1.



H E Knowledge concerning the Person of Man comprehends two Things especially ; namely, The Contemplation of the *Miseries of Mankind* ; and of the *Prerogatives, or Excellencies of the same*. But the *Bewailing of Man's Miseries* hath been elegantly and copiously set forth by several, in the Writings, as well of *Philosophers*, as *Divines*. And it is both a pleasant and a wholesome Contemplation.

B U T that other touching *Man's Prerogatives*, hath seem'd to me a Point that may well be set down among the *Deficients of Learning*.

Learning. *Pindar*, in extolling *Hiero*, says (as usually he does) most elegantly, *That he cropt off the Tops or Summities of all Virtues.* And truly I should think it would much conduce to the Magnanimity and Honour of Man; if a Collection were made of the *Ultima's* (as the Schools speak) or *Summities* (as *Pindar*) of Human Nature, principally out of the faithful Reports of History; That is, *What is the last and highest Pitch, to which Human Nature in it self ever ascended, in all the Perfections both of Body and Mind.* What a strange Ability was that which is reported of *Cæsar*, That he could dictate at once to five *Amanuenses*? So also the Exercitations of the Antient Rhetoricians, *Protagoras*, *Gorgias*; likewise of Philosophers, *Callisthenes*, *Possidonius*, *Carneades*; who were able to discourse *ex tempore* upon any Subject, *Pro* and *Con*, with Elegancy and Fluency, do much ennoble the Powers of Man's Wit and Natural Endowments. And that which *Cicero* reports of his Master *Archias* is little for Use, but great perhaps for Ostentation and Faculties; that he was able to recite *ex tempore* a great Number of Verses pertinent to the Discourse in hand whatever it was. That *Cyrus* or *Scipio* could call so many Thousands of Men by their particular Names, is a singular Commendation to that Faculty of the Mind, Memory.

BUT

BUT the Trophies of Moral Virtues are no less famous than those of Intellectual. What a mighty Example of Patience does that common Story of *Anaxarchus* present unto our Thoughts, who being put to the Rack and Torture, bit out his own Tongue (the hoped Instrument of Discovery) and spit it in the Tyrant's Face? Nor is that inferior for Tolerance (tho' much for Merit and Dignity) which fell out in our Time of a certain *Burgundian*, who had committed a Murder upon the Person of the Prince of *Orange*: This Fellow being scourged with Iron Rods, and his Flesh torn with burning Pincers, gave not so much as a Groan: Further, when a broken Piece of the Scaffold fell by chance upon the Head of one that stood by, the singed stigmatiz'd Varlet, in the midst of his Torments, laugh'd; who but a little before had wept at the cutting off his curled Head of Hair.

IN like manner a wonderful Serenity and Security of Mind hath shone in many, at the very Instant of Death; as was That of a Centurion in *Tacitus*: He being ordered by the Soldier that had Commands to execute him, to stretch forth his Neck valiantly; *I wish* (says he) *thou wouldst strike as valiantly*. But *John*, Duke of *Saxony*, when the Commission
was

was brought him, as he was playing at Chess, wherein his Death was commanded the next Day, call'd to one that stood by him, and smiling, *Look, (says he) if I have not the better Hand of the Game. For he (pointing to him with whom he play'd) will boast, when I am dead, that himself was the fairer of the Set.*

AND our *More*, Chancellour of *England*, when the Day before he was to die, a Barber came to him (sent, it seems, for this End, least the Sight of his long Hair might move more than ordinary Compassion in the People at his Execution) and asked him if he would not please to have his Hair cut; he refused, and turning to the Barber; *The King (says he) is at Suit with me for my Head; And 'till that Controversy be ended, I mean to bestow no Cost upon it.* And the same Person, at the very Point of Death, after he had laid his Head upon the fatal Block, raised himself up again a little, and having a fair large Beard, gently removed it, saying, *Yet, I hope, this hath not offended the King.* But not to insist too long upon this Point, it is plain enough what we mean; Namely, That the *Wonders of Human Nature*, and its ultimate Powers and Virtues, as well of Mind as Body, should be collected into a Volume; which

which might serve as a Kalendar of Human Triumphs. In which Affair, we approve the Design of *Valerius Maximus*, and *C. Plinius*, but wish they had used more Diligence and Judgment.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Knowledge of Man's Body.

De Augmentis Scientiarum.

Lib. 4. Cap. 2.



THE *Knowledge* that respects *Man's Body* admits of the same Division, as the *Good of Man's Body* does, unto which it is subservient. The *Good of Man's Body* is of four Kinds: *Health*; *Beauty*; *Strength*; *Pleasure*. As many therefore are the *Knowledges*: *Medicine*, or the *Art of Cure*; *Cosmetick*, or the *Art of Decoration*: *Athletick*, or the *Art of Activity*; And the *Art Voluptuary*, which *Tacitus* calls *Eruditus Luxus*.

MEDICINE is a most noble Art, and descended of a very great Family according
to

to the Poets. For they have brought in *Apollo*, as the chief God of Medicine; to whom they have assigned *Æsculapius* for a Son, a God too, and Professor of Physick: Because in Things Natural the Sun is the Author and Fountain of Life; the Physician the Preserver, and as it were the second Stream of it. But an Honour infinitely greater accrues to Medicine from the Works of our Saviour, who was a Physician both of Soul and Body; and made the Body of Man the Object of his Miracles, as the Soul was the Object of his Heavenly Doctrine. For we read not that he ever vouchsafed to do any Miracle about Honour, or Money (except that one for giving Tribute to *Cæsar*) but only about the preserving, sustaining, and healing the Body of Man.

THIS Subject of *Medicine* (*Man's Body*) is of all other Things in Nature, most susceptible of Remedy; but then that Remedy is most susceptible of Error. For the same Subtilty and Variety of the Subject, as it doth afford large Possibility of Cure, so does it give great Facility to Error. Wherefore as that Art (especially as it is now managed) may well be placed among the Arts that are most of all Conjectural; so the Inquiry into the same may be reckon'd one of the most difficult, and therefore ought to be the more exact. Neither yet are we so senseless, as to
imagine

imagine with *Paracelsus*, and the Alchymists, That there are to be found in Man's Body certain Correspondences and Parallels, answering to all Varieties of Things (as Stars, Planets, Minerals, and the rest) that are extant in the Universe; as they Fable, fantastically straining the ancient Opinion (that Man was a *Microcosm*, an Abstract or Epitome of the whole World) to countenance that Figure of Theirs. Yet notwithstanding thus much is true, (which we were about to say) that of all Natural Substances there is none so manifoldly compounded as the *Human Body*. For we see Herbs and Plants are nourished by Earth and Water; Beasts, for the most part, by Herbs and Fruits: But Man by the Flesh of Beasts, Birds, Fishes; also by Herbs, Grains, Fruits, divers Juices and Liquors; not without a manifold Commixtion, Seasoning, and Preparation of those Bodies, before they come to be Man's Meat and Aliment: Add hereunto, that Beasts have a more simple Order of Life, and fewer Affections to work upon their Bodies, and they commonly operating one Way; whereas Man in his Mansions, Exercises, Passions, Sleep and Watchings, undergoes almost an infinite Vicissitude of Variations. So true is it, that the *Body of Man*, of all other Things, is the most fermented, and most variously compounded Mass. The *Soul*, on the other side, is the simplest of Substances, as is well expressed;

Concretam

*Concretam exemit labem, purumq; reliquit
Æthereum sensum, atq; Auræi simplicis ignem.*
Virg. *Æn.* 6. v. 746.

*No Speck is left of their habitual Stains ;
But the pure Æther of the Soul remains.*
Dryden.

WHEREFORE it is no Wonder, that the Soul, so placed, should enjoy no Rest, according to that Principle, *Motus rerum est rapidus extra locum, placidus in loco* ; Things move swiftly out of their Place, and quietly in it. But to the Purpose : This various and subtile Composition and Fabrick of *Man's Body* hath made it like a curious and exquisite Instrument, which is easily put out of Tune. Wherefore the Poets have very well conjoyned Musick and Medicine in *Apollo* ; because the Genius of both the Arts is pretty much alike ; and the Office of a Physician consists merely in this, To know how to tune and finger this Harp of *Man's Body*, so as that the Harmony may not be discordant and harsh. This Inconstancy therefore, and Variety of the Subject, hath made the Art more Conjectural : And the Art being so Conjectural, hath given the larger Scope not only to Error, but also to Imposture. For almost all other Arts and Sciences are judg'd of by Acts, or Master-pieces, (as I may term them) and not by the

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Successes and Events. The Lawyer is judg'd by the Virtue of his Pleading, and not by the Issue of the Cause. The Master of the Ship is judg'd by the directing his Course aright, and not by the Fortune of the Voyage. But the Physician, and perhaps the Politique, have no particular Arts demonstrative of their Skill and Ability; but carry away Honour or Disgrace from the Event principally, a way of Judging very unequal. For where's the Man that can tell, if the Patient die or recover, or if a State be preserv'd or ruin'd, whether it be Art or Accident? And therefore many times it falls out, that the Impostor is prized, and the Man of Skill censured. Nay, the Weakness and Credulity of Man is such, that they will often prefer a Mountebank, or Witch, before a learned Physician. And therefore the Poets seem to have been very clear and quick-sighted, when they made *Circe* Sister to *Æsculapius*, both Children of the Sun; as we find it in the Verses, concerning *Æsculapius* Son of *Phæbus*;

*Tum Pater omnipotens, aliquem indignatus ab
umbris*

*Mortalem infernis ad lumina surgere vitæ,
Ipse repertorem medicinæ talis & artis
Fulmine Phæbigenam stygias detruxit ad undas.*
Virg. *Æn.* 7. 769.

Then

Then *Jove*, who saw from High, with just
Disdain,

The Dead inspir'd with vital Breath again,
Struck to the Center with his flaming Dart
Th' unhappy Founder of the Godlike Art.

Dryden.

AND again of *Circe*, the Sun's Daugh-
ter ;

*Dives inaccessos ubi Solis filia lucos
Assiduo resonat cantu, tectisq; superbis
Urit odoratam nocturna in lumina cedrum,
Arguto tenues percurrens pectine telas.*

Æn. 7. 11:

Now near the Shelves of *Circe's* Shores they
run

(*Circe* the Rich, the Daughter of the Sun)
A dangerous Coast: The Goddess wastes her
Days

In joyous Songs, the Rocks resound her Lays :
In Spinning, or the Loom, she spends the
Night,

And Cedar Bands supply her Father's Light.

Dryden.

FOR in all Times, in the Opinion of the
Multitude, Witches, and Old Women, and
Impostors, have been Rivals as it were of
Physicians ; and have in a manner contended

with them for the Fame of Cures. And what, I pray, followeth? Even this, that Physicians say to themselves, as *Solomon* expresses it upon a higher Occasion: *If it happen to me, as it happeneth to the Fool, to what Purpose is it, that I have taken more Pains to be Wise? Eccles. 2.* And indeed I do not much blame Physicians, that they use commonly to intend some other Study, which they fancy, more than their Profession. For you shall have of them, Poets, Antiquaries, Humanists, Statesmen, Divines, and in these Arts better seen, than in their own Profession. Nor does this come to pass, as I conceive, because (as a certain Declaimer against Sciences objects to Physicians) they have such foul and sad Spectacles ever before their Eyes, that it is altogether necessary for them to draw off their Minds to other Objects; (for as they are *Men, Nihil humani a se alienum putent; They can think no Office of Humanity unbecoming them;*) But upon this very ground, that we are now upon; Namely, That they find there is little matter of Difference, either as to Reputation, or Profit, whether they are Moderately or Eminently skill'd in their Profession. For the Vexations of Sicknes, the Sweetness of Life, the Flattery of Hope, and the Recommendation of Friends, make Men depend upon Physicians, whatever they be. But nevertheless, if a Man seriously weigh the Matter, these Things tend rather to the
Blame

Blame of Physicians, than to their Excuse. For they ought not to cast away Hope, but to put to more Strength. For if a Man would awake his Observation, and look about a little, he will easily see in obvious and familiar Instances, what a Command and Sovereignty the Subtilty and Sharpness of the Understanding hath over the Variety either of *Matter* or *Form*. Nothing more variable than the Faces and Countenances of Men; yet the Memory can retain the infinite Distinctions of them. Nay, a Painter with a few Shells of Colours, by the Benefit of his Eye, the Force of his Imagination, and the Steadiness of his Hand, could imitate and describe with his Pencil the Faces of all, that are, have been, and may be, if they were brought before him. Nothing more variable than Man's Voice; yet we easily discern the Differences of it in every particular Person: Nay, you shall have a Buffoon or Pantomime imitate and express to the Life as many as he pleases. Nothing more variable, than the differing Sounds of Words; yet Men have found the Way to reduce them to a few Letters of the Alphabet. So that it is not Want of Subtilty or Capacity in the Mind of Man, that breeds these Mazes and Incomprehensions in Sciences, but rather the too remote placing of the Object. For as the Sense, afar off, is full of mistaking, but within due Distance, errs not much; so is it of the Understanding. For Men are wont to take

a Prospect of Nature, as from a high Turret, and to view her afar off, and to be too much taken up about Generals; whereas if they would vouchsafe to descend, and approach Particulars, and more attently and diligently look into Things themselves, there might be made a more true and profitable Comprehension. Now the Remedy of this Inconvenience does not lie in this alone, to quicken or strengthen the Organ, but withal to go nearer to the Object. And therefore there is no doubt, but if Physicians, laying aside Generalities for a while, would go up boldly to Nature; they might assume to themselves what the Poet says,

*Et quoniam variant Morbi, variabimus Artes;
Mille mali species, mille salutis erunt.*

Ov. R. A. L. 2.

WHICH they ought the rather to do, because the Philosophies themselves, upon which Physicians, whether they be Methodists, or Chymists, do rely (and Medicine not grounded upon Philosophy is a weak Thing,) are indeed of little Worth. Wherefore if too wide Generalities (tho' they were true) have this Defect, that they do not well bring Men Home to Action; certainly there is greater Danger in those Generals, which are in themselves false, and instead of Directing, Mislead.

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MEDICINE therefore (as we have seen) is a Science which hath hitherto been more professed than laboured, and yet more laboured than advanced; since the Pains bestowed thereon, have been rather in Circle than in Progression. For I find much Iteration by Writers in it, but small Addition.

WE will divide it into three Parts, which we will call the three Duties thereof. The First is *Preservation of Health*; the Second, the *Cure of Diseases*; the Third, *Prolongation of Life*.

And for this last Duty, Physicians seem not to have acknowledged it as a principal Part of their Profession, but to have mingled and confounded it (ignorantly enough) with the other Two. For they suppose, if Diseases be repelled before they invade, and be cured after they have seized the Body, that Prolongation of Life follows of Course. Which tho' it be so without all question, yet they are short in not discerning, that both of these belong only to Diseases, and to that *Prolongation of Life* alone, which is shorten'd and intercepted by Diseases: But the Extending the very Thread of Life, and the Proroguing of Death (which insensibly creeps upon us, by Natural Resolution, and the Consumption of Age) for any Time, is an Argument which none of the Physicians has worthily handled.

Neither let this Scruple trouble Men's Minds, That a Thing which is under Providence wholly, should be reduced to Rule and Art: For without doubt, Providence equally disposes and determines all Deaths whatsoever, whether they come of Violence, or from Diseases, or from the Course of Age; and yet it does not therefore exclude Preventions and Remedies. For Art and Industry do not command, but are subservient to Nature and Providence. But of this Part we shall speak by and by; thus much in the mean time by way of Preface; least any one should unskilfully confound this Third Office of Medicine (as hath hitherto usually been done) with the Two former.

AS for the Duty of *Preserving Health*, (the First of the Three aforesaid) many have written of it, as in other Points unskilfully enough, so (in my Judgment) in attributing too much to the Quality of Meats, and too little to the Quantity thereof. And in the Quantity it self, like Moral Philosophers, they have too much extoll'd Moderation; whereas both Fasting, and full Eating, interchangeably used, and made customary, are better Preservatives of Health than those same moderate Usages, which weaken Nature, and render her impatient of Excess and Hardship, if Occasion should be. And for the Kinds of Exercise, contributing most to the Preservation
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tion of Health, those no one of the Profession hath well distinguish'd, or observ'd; there being hardly any Disposition to a Disease, which may not be corrected by some proper Exercise. Bowling is good for the Diseases of the Reins, Shooting for those of the Lungs, Walking and Riding for the Stomach, and the like. But this Part, touching the Preservation of Health, having been handled throughout, to pursue lesser Deficiencies, is not to my present Purpose.

AS for the *Cure of Diseases*, That indeed is a Part of *Medicine*, whereon much Labour has been bestowed, but with small Profit. It contains the *Knowledge of Diseases*, to which Man's Body is subject, together with their *Causes, Symptoms, and Cures*. In this second Office of *Medicine*, there are many Things deficient; Of these we shall propound a few of the most remarkable, which we shall think fit to enumerate without any precise Order or Method.

Narrationales Medicinales.

THE first is the Discontinuance of that exceeding useful and exact Diligence of *Hippocrates*, whose Custom was to compose a Narrative of the special Cases of his Patients; setting down the Nature of the Disease, the Method of Proceeding, and the Event. And
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having so proper and illustrious a Precedent of this Thing, in a Person that was in a manner held the Father of the Art, we shall not need to go to Foreign Arts for an Example; or to the Wisdom of the Lawyers, who are very careful to take down more notable Cases, and new Decisions; that they may be the better prepared and furnished against future Cases. Wherefore I find wanting a *Continuation* of *Medicinal Reports*; especially digested into one Body with Diligence and Judgment; which, notwithstanding, I do not mean should be made so ample, as to take in Vulgar, and Every-day Cases, (for that were an infinite Work, and not to the Purpose;) nor again so strait, as to admit Prodigies and Wonders only; a Thing which has been done by some. For many Things are new in the *Manner*, and *Circumstances*, which are not new in the *Kind*: And he that gives his Mind to observe, will meet with many Things, even in vulgar Matters, worthy Observation.

Anatomia Comparata.

SO in *Disquisitions Anatomical*, the manner is, That the Parts generally incident to Man's Body, are most diligently enquired into, even to Curiosity, and in every the least Point: But as to the *Variety*, which is found in *divers Bodies*, there the Diligence of Physicians fails. And therefore I grant that
simple

simple Anatomy has been excellently well handled; But *Comparative Anatomy* I aver to be deficient. For they enquire well of the particular Parts, and of their *Substances, Figures, and Collocations*; but the *different Figure and Condition* of those *Parts in different Men*, they do not so well observe. The Reason of which Omission, I suppose to be no other than this, That the first Enquiry may be satisfied by the View of one or two Anatomies; but the latter, being Comparative and Casual, must arise from the attentive and exact Consideration of many. Besides, the first is a Matter wherein learned Men, in their Prelections, and in the Companies of those they read to, can set out themselves to Advantage: But the second is, That which can be acquired only by a thoughtful and long Experience. This, in the mean Time, there is no question of, that the Figure and Structure of the Inward Parts is as full of Variety, as that of the Outward; and that Hearts, and Livers, and Ventricles, are as different in Men, as either Foreheads, or Noses, or Ears.

AND in these very Differences of the Inward Parts, are many Times the *Causes Continent* of many Diseases; which not being observ'd, Physicians quarrel often with the Humours which are no way in fault; the Fault being in the very Frame and Mechanism
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of some Part. In the Cure of which Diseases, 'tis in vain to apply *Alterative Medicines* (because the Case admits not of *Alteration*,) but the Matter must be corrected, and accommodated, or palliated, by Diets, and Medicines familiar,

LIKEWISE, to *Comparative Anatomy* appertain accurate Observations, as well of all Kind of *Humours*, as of the *Footsteps* and *Impressions* of Diseases, in Variety of Bodies dissected: For the *Humours* are commonly pass'd over in *Anatomies*, as superfluous Excrements, though it be most necessary to observe, of *what Nature*, and *what various Kinds* there be of differing *Humours* (not relying herein too much upon the received Divisions of them) which may sometimes be found in the Body of Man; and in what Cavities, and Receptacles, each Humour uses for the most part to lodge and nestle; and with what Advantage, or Prejudice, and the like. In like Manner, the *Footsteps* and *Impressions* of Diseases, and the *Lesions* and *Devastations* of the *Inward Parts* by them, are to be observed with Diligence in *divers Anatomies*; as, Imposthumations, Exulcerations, Discontinuations, Putrefactions, Exesions, Consumptions; Again, Contractions, Extensions, Convulsions, Luxations, Dislocations, Obstructions, Repletions, Tumors; together with all preternatural Substances found in Man's Body,

(as Stones, Carnosities, Excrescencies, Worms, and the like :) All these Things, (I say) and such other, ought to have been exactly observed by Multitude of Anatomies, and the Contribution of Men's several Experiments; and carefully set down both historically according to the Appearances, and artificially with a Reference to the Diseases and Symptoms which resulted from them, in Case where the Anatomy is of a defunct Patient; whereas now upon opening of Bodies, they are passed over slightly, and in Silence.

TOUCHING that other Defect in *Anatomy*, (to wit, that it hath not used to be practised upon *Living Bodies*) to what purpose should we speak of it? For this is an odious and barbarous Thing, and by *Celsus* justly condemn'd. And yet for the Passages and Pores, it is true which was anciently noted, That the more subtile of them appear not in Anatomical Dissections; because they are shut and latent in *Dead Bodies*, though they be open and manifest in *Live*. Wherefore that Use and Humanity may at once be consulted, this *Anatomia Vivorum* is not to be relinquish'd altogether, nor referr'd (as did *Celsus*) to the casual Practices of Surgery; since this very Thing may well be perform'd, by the Dissection of Beasts alive, which, notwithstanding the Dissimilitude of their Parts, may,
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being done with Judgment, sufficiently satisfy this Inquiry.

De curatione Morborum habitorum pro insanabilibus.

LIKEWISE in their Inquiry of Diseases, they find many which they pronounce *Incurable*; some from the first Access of the Disease; and others, after such a certain Period. So that the Proscriptions of *L. Sylla*, and the *Triumvirs* were nothing to the Proscriptions of Physicians, whereby they deliver over so many Men, by their most severe Edicts, to Death, whereof Numbers however do escape with less Difficulty than they formerly did in the *Roman* Proscriptions. Therefore I shall make no Scruple to set down among the *Deficients*, *A Work of the Cures of Diseases held incurable*; to the End that some extraordinary and brave-spirited Physicians may be awak'd and stirred up to set to this Work, (so far as the Nature of Things permits;) since this *Pronouncing of Diseases Incurable*, enacts a Law as it were for Neglect, and exempts Ignorance from Discredit.

De Euthanasia Exteriore.

NAY to go a little further, I am clearly of Opinion, That it is part of a Physician's Office, not only to restore Health, but also to mitigate

mitigate the Pains and Torments of Diseases: And not only when such Mitigation of Pain, as of a dangerous Symptom, may conduce to *Recovery*; but even when all Hope of Recovery being gone, it may serve only to make a *fair and easy Passage out of Life*. For it was no small Felicity which *Augustus Cæsar* was wont to wish so much to himself, that same *Euthanasia*; and which was specially noted in the Death of *Antoninus Pius*, who did not seem so much to dye, as to fall into a pleasant and deep Sleep. So it is written of *Epicurus*, that he procured this same easy Departure unto himself; for after his Disease was judged desperate, he drowned his Stomach and Senses with a large Draught and Ingurgitation of Wine; whence That in the Epigram, ——— *Hinc Stygias ebrius hausit aquas*; He was not sober enough to taste any Bitterness in the Stygian Water. But the Physicians contrariwise in our Times make a Kind of Scruple and Religion to stay with the Patient after he is given over; whereas in my Judgment, if they would not be wanting to their Profession, and to Humanity it self, they ought both to learn the Art, and to give the Attendance, for the facilitating and asswaging the Pains and Agonies of Death. And this Part we call an Inquiry concerning an *Outward Euthanasia*, (to distinguish it from that *Euthanasia*, which regards

gards a due Preparation of the Soul) and refer it among the *Deficients*:

Medicina Experimentales.

LIKEWISE. in the *Cures* of *Diseases*, I find this general *Deficiency*; that the Physicians of the present Age, though they pursue the General Intentions of Cures well enough; yet for particular Receipts, respecting the proper Cures of peculiar Diseases, either they do not well know them, or do not religiously observe them. For Physicians have frustrated the Fruit of Tradition and approv'd Experience by their Magistralties; in adding, and taking out, and changing, *Quid pro quo*, in their Receipts, at their Pleasures, in such manner commanding the Medicine, that the Medicine can no longer command the Disease. For except it be *Treacle*, and *Mithridate*, and of late *Diascordium*, and a few more, they tye themselves to no Receipts severely and religiously. For the Confections which stand in the Shops for Sale are in Readiness for General Intentions, and not accommodate and appropriate to particular Diseases; for they do not much refer to any special Distemper, but in the general to Purg- ing, Opening, Comforting, Altering; And this is the chief Cause why Empiricks, and Old Women are more happy many Times in their Cures, than learned Physicians; because they
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are more faithful and religious in holding to approv'd Medicines. Therefore here is the Deficiency which I find, That Physicians have not partly out of their Practice; partly out of the constant Probations reported in Books; and partly out of the Traditions of Empiricks; set down and delivered over, certain *Experimental Medicines*, for the Cure of particular Diseases; besides their own *Conjectural* and *Magisterial Descriptions*. For as they were the Men of the best Composition in the State of Rome, who either being Consuls inclined to the People; or being Tribunes inclined to the Senate: So in the matter we now handle, they are the best Physicians, who being Learned, incline to the Traditions of Experience; or being Empiricks, incline to the Methods of Learning.

Imitatio Naturæ in Balneis, & aquis medicinalibus.

ALSO in Preparation of Medicines, I find it strange (especially considering how *Mineral Medicines* have been extoll'd; and that they are safer for the Outward, than Inward Parts) that no Man hath sought to make an Imitation by Art of *Natural Baths*, and *Medicinal Fountains*; which nevertheless are confessed to receive their Virtues from Minerals, and not so only, but discerned and distinguished from what particular Mineral they

receive Tincture, as Sulphur, Vitriol, Steel, or the like: Which Nature if it may be reduced to Compositions of Art, both the Variety of them will be encreased, and the Temper of them will be more commanded.

Filum Medicinale, sive de vicibus Medicinarum.

BUT least I should be more particular, than is agreeable either to my Intention, or to the Proportion of this Treatise; I will conclude this Part with the Note of one Deficiency more, which seemeth to me of greatest Consequence; which is, that the *Prescriptions in Use* are *too compendious* to effect any notable and difficult Cure. For to my Understanding, it is a vain and flattering Opinion, to think any Medicine can be so Sovereign, or so Happy, as that the simple Use of it should be of Force sufficient to work any great Effect upon the Body of Man. It were a strange Speech indeed, which spoken, or spoken oft, should reclaim a Man from a Vice, to which he were by Nature subject. It is Order, Pursuit, Sequence, and Interchange of Application, which are mighty in Nature: Which altho' they require more exact Knowledge in Prescribing, and more precise Obedience in Observing, yet are amply recompenced in the Greatness of Effects. And altho' a Man would think by the daily Attendance of

of Physicians upon the Sick, in Visiting, Sitting by them, and Prescribing, that there were a steady Pursuance in the Cure; yet let a Man carefully look into what they prescribe, and administer, and he shall find them but Inconstancies, and every Day's Devises, without any settled Providence or Project: Now they should even from the Beginning, after they have made a full and perfect Discovery of the Disease, meditate and resolve upon an orderly Sequence of Cure; and not without important Reasons depart therefrom. And let Physicians know for certain, That (for Example) three perchance, or four Receipts, are rightly prescribed for the Cure of some great Disease; which taken in due Order, and in due Spaces of Time, perform the Cure: Each and every of which, if they were taken by themselves alone, or if the Order were inverted, or the Intervals of Time not observ'd, would be very hurtful. Yet it is not our Meaning, that every scrupulous and superstitious Method of Cure should be in Esteem as the best in the World, (no more than every *streight Way* is the *Way to Heaven*;) But that the Way should be right, as well as streight and difficult. And this Part, which we call *Filum Medicinale*, (*an orderly Course and Sequel in Physick*,) we set down as deficient. So these are the Things, which in the *Knowledge of Medicine*, touching the *Cure of Diseases*, we judge to be wanting; save that

there remains yet one Thing, which is of more Use than all the other. *There is wanting a True and Active Natural Philosophy,* whereupon to build the *Science of Medicine.* But that belongs not to this Treatise.

De Prolongatione Vitæ.

THE Third Part of *Medicine* laid down was, That of *Prolongation of Life*; which is a Part new, and *deficient*; and is the most Noble of all. For if any such Thing may be found out, *Medicine* shall not be conversant only in the *Filthiness of Cures*, nor shall Physicians be honoured merely for *Necessity* sake; but for a Gift to Mortals, the greatest certainly of Earthly ones, which it is possible for them, next under God, to be the Dispensers and Administrators of. For altho' the *World* to a Christian Man, travelling to the *Land of Promise*, be as it were a *Wilderness*; yet whilst we are Journeying in this *Wilderness*, that our Shooes and Vestments (which is as a Covering to the Soul) be the less worn out, is to be esteemed a Gift of the Divine Goodness. Concerning this Point, because it is one of the choicest, and that we have set it down amongst *Deficients*, we will, after our accustomed Manner, lay down some Advertisements, Discoveries, and Precepts.

FIRST,

FIRST, We *advertise*; That of the Writers upon this Subject, there is no one that hath found out any Thing *Great*, not to say *Sound*. Indeed *Aristotle* has put out a very small Commentary concerning this, wherein there is some Acuteness; because he himself would be All Things, as his Manner is. But the Moderns have wrote so dreamingly, and superstitiously upon this Matter, that the Argument it self, through their Vanity, begins to be reputed vain and senseless.

SECONDLY, We *advertise*, That the very Intentions of Physicians regarding this Matter, are nothing worth; and that they rather lead Men's Thoughts away from the Point, than direct them unto it. For they discourse, That Death consists in a Destitution of Heat and Moisture: And therefore that Natural Heat should be Comforted and Strengthened, and Radical Moisture cherish'd; as if this was a Matter to be effected by Broths, or Lettices and Mallows, or Furmety, or Juburbs, or again with Spices, or generous Wine, or the Spirit of Wine, and Chymical Oyls: All which Things hurt rather, than do good.

THIRDLY, We *advertise*; That Men would leave off trifling, and not be so easy as to believe, that so great a Work as that of Re-

tarding and turning back the *Course of Nature*, can be effected by a Morning Draught, or the Use of some precious Receipt; no not with *Aurum potabile*, nor the Substances of Pearls, and such like Trifles; but that they would hold it for a certain Truth, That the *Prolongation of Life* is a mighty Work, and that consists of divers Remedies, and of a due Connexion of them one with another: For a Man must not be so stupid, as to believe, that what never yet was done, can now be effected, but by Means never yet attempted.

FOURTHLY, We advertise, That Men rightly observe and distinguish concerning those Things which may conduce to a *Healthful Life*, and such as may contribute to a *Long Life*. For there are many Things which serve to exhilarate the Spirits, to strengthen the active Powers of Nature, and to repel Diseases; which yet subduct from the Sum of Life, and without Sicknes accelerate an aged *Atrophie*. There are other Things also, which help to the *Prorogation of Life*, and to the Suspending the *Atrophie* of Old Age, but yet are not used without Hazard of Health. So that they who shall use Things for the *Prolongation of Life*, must likewise provide against such Inconveniences, as otherwise upon their Use they may be surpriz'd with. And so much by way of *Advertisement*, or *Admonition*.

A S touching *Discoveries* ; The Image or Idea, which we have conceiv'd of this Matter in our Mind, is This. Things are conserv'd and continue two Ways : Either in *their proper Identity* ; or, by *Reparation*.

IN *their proper Identity* ; as a Fly, or an Ant in *Amber* ; A Flower, or an Apple, or Wood in *Conservatories of Snow* ; A dead Corps amidst *Balsams*. By *Reparation* ; as in *Flame* ; and in *Mechanicks*. He that goes about the Work of *Prolongation of Life*, must put in Practice both these Kinds, (separate they can do little) and Man's Body must be conserv'd, as Inanimate Bodies are conserv'd : And again as *Flame* is conserv'd : And lastly in some Degree as *Mechanicks* are conserv'd. There are therefore three Intentions for the *Prolongation of Life* : The *Retardation of Consumption* : The *Goodness of the Reparation* : And the *Renovation of that which began to decay and grow old*.

CONSUMPTION is caus'd by two *Depredations* ; By the *Depredation of the Innate Spirit* ; and the *Depredation of the Ambient Air*. The *Hindering of both* is twofold ; Either when those *Agents* become less *Predatory* ; or when the *Patients* (that is, the Juices of the Body) are render'd less *depredable*. The *Spirit* becomes less *predatory* ; if either it be

*condens'd in Substance, as in the Use of Op-
ates, and Nitrous Remedies, and in Contrista-
tions ; or be diminish'd in Quantity, as in Py-
thagorical and Monastical Diets ; or be gentle
and moderate in its Motion, as in Ease and
Tranquillity.*

THE *Ambient Air* becomes less predatory,
either if it be less heated by the Beams of the
Sun, as in colder Countries ; in Caves ; in
Mountains ; and in the Pillars and Stations
of *Anchorites* : Or if it be kept off from the
Body, as in a dense close Skin, and in the
Plumes of Birds, and in the Use of Oyl and
Unguents without Aromaticks.

THE *Juices* of the *Body* are render'd less
depredable, if they are either render'd *Hard* ;
or *Dewy* and *Oily*. *Hard* ; as by *course Diet* :
By a *Life accusom'd to Cold* : By *robust Exer-
cises* : By certain *Mineral Baths*. *Dewy* ; as
in the *Use of sweet Things*, and by an *Absti-
nence* from *Meats Salt and Acid* ; and above
all, in such a *Mixture of Drink*, as is of
Parts very *tenuious* and *subtile*, and yet with-
out all *Acrimony* and *Tartness*.

REPARATION is perform'd by *Ali-
ments* ; And *Alimentation* is promoted four
Ways : By the *Concoction* of the *Bowels* for
the *Extrusion* of the *Aliment*, as in *Conforta-
tion*

tion of the principal Bowels ; By the Excitation of the Exterior Parts for the Attraction of the Aliment, as in due Exercises and Frictions, and certain Unctions and appropriate Baths ; By the Preparation of the Aliment it self, that it may more easily insinuate it self, and in a manner anticipate the Digestions themselves, as in the divers and artificial Ways of Seasoning Meat, Mingling Drink, Leavening Bread, and reducing the Virtues of these Three into One ; By Comforting the very last Act of Assimilation, as in seasonable Sleep, and certain exterior Applications.

THE Renovation of that which begins to grow to Decay, is perform'd two Ways ; either by Intenerating the Habit of the Body it self, as in the Use of suppling or softening Applications by Baths, Plaisters, and Unctions, of such a Quality, as to impress, not to draw out : Or by the Expurgation of the old Juice, and Substitution of new Juice, as in seasonable and repeated Purging, Blood-letting, and attenuating Diets, which restore the Flower of the Body. And so much for Discoveries.

AS for Precepts, tho' most of them may be deduc'd from the Discoveries themselves, yet we think good to subjoin Three of the most principal. Our First Precept is, That Prolongation of Life be expected rather from stated set Diets, than from any familiar Regimen

gimen of Food ; or even from the Excellency of particular Medicines. For whatsoever Things are of such mighty Virtue, as to be able to turn back the Course of Nature ; are commonly too strong, and powerful *Alteratives*, to be compounded together in any Medicine, much less to be intermingled in familiar Food. It remains therefore that they be administred successively, and regularly, and at set appointed Times returning in certain Courses.

OUR second *Precept* is, That *Prolongation of Life* be expected rather from an Operating upon the Spirits, and from a Suppling, or Inteneration of the Parts, than from the Methods of Alimentation. For seeing the Body of Man, and the Frame thereof (setting aside outward Accidents) suffers from three Things ; namely, the Spirits ; the Parts ; and Aliments ; the Way of Prolongation of Life by the Means of Alimentation is long and tedious, and through many Windings and Circuits ; but the Ways by Operating upon the Spirits, and upon the Parts, are much more compendious, and sooner bring us to the desired End ; for this Reason that the Spirits are suddenly affected, both from Vapours and Passions, which have a strange Power over them ; and the Parts no less, by Baths, or Unguents, or Plaisters, which in like manner make sudden Impressions.

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OUR Third Precept is, That *Suppling* or *Intenerating* of the Parts outwardly, should be perform'd by Applications *Consubstantial*, *Penetrating*, and *Shutting up*. For *Consustantials* are welcomely receiv'd, and kindly embrac'd by the Parts, and do properly *Intenerate* and *Supple*. Applications *Penetrating*, both as Vehicles, convey with more Ease, and sink deeper the Virtue of the *Supplers*, and do themselves also somewhat expand the Parts. Things *that shut up*, keep in the Virtue of both, and for a Time fix it, and check Perspiration, which is a Thing opposite to *Inteneration* or *Suppling*, because it sends forth Moisture. Therefore by these Three (but rather disposed in Order, and succeeding, than mix'd together) the Matter is effected. In the mean Time we note here, That the Intention of outward *Suppling* is not to nourish the Parts, but only to render them more capable of Nourishment. For whatever is more dry, is less active to assimilate. And thus much of the *Prolongation of Life*, which is a Third Part newly assigned to *Medicine*.

COME we now to *Cosmetick*, which hath Parts Civil, and Parts Effeminate. For Cleanliness, and an honest Ornament of Body was ever esteemed to proceed from a certain Modesty of Behaviour, and from a Reverence, in the first Place, to God, whose Creatures
we

we are; next to Society, wherein we live; and lastly to our selves, whom we ought to reverence as much, nay more than others. But that adulterate Decoration by Painting and Colouring, is well worthy of the Deficiencies which always attend it; being neither ingenious enough to deceive, nor handsome to please, nor safe and wholesome to use. And I wonder that this corrupt Custom of Painting hath so long escaped Penal Laws, both of the Church and of the State; which yet have been very severe against Excess of Apparel, and the effeminate Trimming of Hair. We read indeed of *Jezabel*, that she painted her Face, *2 Kings ix.* But of *Esther* and *Judith*, no such Matter is reported.

LET us proceed to *Athletick*; This we understand in a Sense somewhat larger than it is usually taken in. For to this we refer any Point of *Ability*, whereunto the Body of Man may be brought; whether it be of *Activity*, or of *Patience*. Whereof *Activity* hath two Parts, *Strength* and *Swiftness*: And *Patience* likewise hath two Parts, either *Sufferance* of *Natural Wants*; or *Indurance* of *Pain*, or *Torment*. Of all which Things we see many Times notable Instances in the Practice of Tumblers and Rope-Dancers; in the hard
Fare

Fare of some Savages; in the amazing Strength of Maniacks; and in the Constancy of many in the midst of exquisite Torments. Nay, if there be any other Faculty to be found, which falls not within the former Partition, (such as is many Times seen in *Divers*, who are able to contain Respiration to a Wonder) we would have it referr'd to this Art. And that such Things may sometimes be done, is most manifest; But the Philosophy, and an Inquiry into the Causes of them, is commonly neglected; for this Reason we conceive, because Men are persuaded that such Masteries and Commands over Nature, are obtain'd only, either by a peculiar Aptness of some Men, (which falls not under Rule) or from a long Custom, continued even from Childhood, which uses to be commanded rather than taught. Which tho' it be not altogether true; yet to what purpose should we note any Deficiencies in these Matters? For the *Olympick Games* are down long since: And a Mediocrity in these Things is enough for Use: As for Excellency in them, it serves for the most part but for mercenary Ostentation.

FOR Arts *Voluptuary*, the chief Deficiency in them is of Laws to repress them. For as it hath been well observ'd, that
while

while States are rising and in their Growth, Arts Military flourish; when they are in the Height, Arts Liberal; and when they are in their Declension, Arts Voluptuary: So I doubt this Age of the World is somewhat upon the Descent of the Wheel, and inclines to Arts Voluptuary: Wherefore let us pass them over. And thus much of *the Knowledge which concerns Man's Body*, which is but the Tabernacle of the Mind.

C H A P. XXI.

Of M E M O R Y.

De *Augmentis Scientiarum.*Lib. 5. Cap. 5.



E will divide the *Art* of *Retaining*, or of the *Custody* of *Knowledge*, into two *Doctrines*: That is, the *Doctrine* touching the *Helps* of *Memory*; and the *Doctrine* touching the *Memory* it self. A *Help* to *Memory* is *Writing* no doubt: And it must by all Means be noted, That *Memory*, without this Support, would be too weak for more prolix and accurate Matters. Therefore there can hardly be a Thing more useful to *Memory*, than a substantial and learned *Digest* of *Common Places*. Yet I am not ignorant, that the referring those Things we read or learn, in-
to

to *Common Places*, is reckon'd by some as a Prejudice to Learning, as retarding the Course of Learning, and encouraging the *Memory* in Idleness. Nevertheless, because it is but a counterfeit Business, to be pregnant and forward in Learning, unless you are withal solid, and every way furnish'd; I hold the Diligence and Pains in collecting *Common Places*, to be a Matter of very great Use and Certainty in Studying; as that which furnishes Plenty to *Invention*; and contracts the Eye of the *Judgment* to a Point. Nevertheless it is true, that of the Methods and Syntagms of *Common Places*, that I have chanc'd to see hitherto, there is none of any Worth; for that in their Titles, they carry the Face of a School rather, than of a World; making Vulgar and Pedantical Divisions, and not such as any way penetrate the Marrow and Pith of Things.

AS for *Memory it self*, That seems to have been inquired into loosely and weakly enough hitherto. An Art indeed there is extant of it: But we are certain, that there may be had both better Precepts for the confirming and encreasing *Memory*, than that Art comprehends; and that a better Practice of that very Art may be contriv'd, than that which is receiv'd. Yet I make no doubt, but that (if a Man has a Mind to abuse this Art to Ostentation) some Wonderful and Prodigious Matters

ters may be perform'd by it: Nevertheless, for Use (as it is managed) it is a barren Thing. However, in the mean Time, I do not tax it with destroying, and over-charging the *Natural Memory*, (which is commonly objected;) but that it is not dextrously applied, to lend Assistance to *Memory*, in Business, and serious Affairs. And this we have learn'd (it may be from our Civil Course of Life) not to value Things that make Ostentation of Art, and are of no Use. For to repeat instantly a vast Number of Names, or Words, upon once hearing, in the same Order they were delivered; or to pour forth abundance of Verses upon any Argument *extempore*; or to touch every Thing that occurs, with some Satyrical *Simile*; or to turn all Things serious into a Jest; or to elude any Thing by a Contradiction or Cavil; and the like; (whereof in the Faculties of the Mind there is a great Store; and which by Wit and Practice may be carried even to a Miracle;) All these Things, and such-like, we make no more Account of, than of the Agilities and Tricks of Rope-Dancers, Tumblers, and Jugglers: For they are in a manner the same Thing; seeing These abuse the Powers of the Body, and Those the Powers of the Mind; and perchance they may have somewhat of Strangeness in them, but little or no Worth.

AS for the *Art of Memory*, That is built but upon two Intentions; *Prenotion*, and *Emblem*: We call *Prenotion* a certain Ab-scission of indefinite Investigation. For when a Man endeavours to recall any Thing to Memory; if he has no *Prenotion*, or Pre-ception of that he seeks; he seeks indeed, and takes Abundance of Pains, and runs up and down this way and that way, as in a Maze of Infinity. But if he has any certain *Prenotion*; immediately the Infinity is cut off, and the Memory beats nearer Home; like the Hunting of a Fallow-Deer within a Park. Therefore 'tis evident that Method helps *Memory*. For there is a secret *Prenotion*, that the Thing sought must have a Congruity with Method. So Verses are easilier got by Heart than Prose. For if a Man sticks at a Word, *Prenotion* suggests, that it must be such a Word as will stand in the Verse. And this *Prenotion* is the first Part of *Artificial Memory*. For in *Memory Artificial* we have Places digested and provided before-hand: *Images* we make *extempore*, according to the present Occasion: But there is a secret *Prenotion*, that the *Image* must be such, as hath some Resemblance with the Place; this being the Thing that twitches the Memory, and in some sort makes way for it to the Thing we are in Chace of.

EMBLEM

EMBLEM reduces Conceits Intellectual to Images Sensible : These strike the Memory more forcibly, and are more easily imprinted there, than Things Intellectual. So we see that even the Memory of Brutes is stirr'd up by a Sensible Object, but not by an Intellectual. Therefore you will more easily retain the Image of a Huntsman pursuing a Hare ; or of an Apothecary setting in Order his Boxes ; or of a Pedant making a Speech ; or of a Boy reciting Verses by Heart ; or of a Droll Acting upon a Stage ; than the naked Notions of Invention, Disposition, Elocution, Memory, Action. There are other Things also pertaining to the Help of *Memory*, (as we said just now ;) but the Art now in Use consists of the two Things now premised. And to pursue the particular Defects of Arts, would be to depart from our proposed Method. Wherefore let thus much suffice for the Art of *Retaining*, or of *Custody*.

C H A P. XXII.
Of R H E T O R I C K.

De Augmentis Scientiarum.

Lib. 6. Cap. 3.



HETORICK, or Oratory, is a *Science* both excellent in it self, and by Writers excellently well improv'd. Yet Eloquence, if a Man consider the Thing truly, is, without doubt, inferior to Wisdom. For we see how much This distances That, in those Words of God to *Moses*, when he refused the Charge assigned him, for Want of Elocution; There is *Aaron*, *He shall be to thee instead of a Mouth*; and *Thou shalt be to him instead of God*. Yet in Profit, and popular Esteem, Wisdom gives Place to Eloquence. For so *Solomon*; *The Wise in Heart shall be called prudent*: but the Sweetness of the Lips shall

shall find greater Things. Prov. xvi. 21. Signifying not obscurely, that Profoundness of Wisdom will help a Man to a Name, or Admiration ; but that it is Eloquence, that prevails most in Business, and in common Life. And as to the labouring of this Art ; the Emulation of *Aristotle* with the Rhetoricians of his Time ; and the earnest and vehement Diligence of *Cicero*, endeavouring with all Might to ennoble it, joyned with long Experience, hath made them in their Books about this Art, exceed themselves. Again, those most excellent Examples of Eloquence, in the Oration of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, added to the Acuteness of the Precepts, have doubled the Progression in this Art. And therefore the Deficiencies which we find in this Art, will rather be in some Collections, which may as Hand-Maids attend the Art, than in the Rules, or Use of the Art it self.

NOTWITHSTANDING, to stir the Earth a little about the Roots of this Science, as our Fashion is ; surely *Rhetorick* is subservient to the *Imagination*, as *Logick* is to the *Understanding*. And the Office and Duty of *Rhetorick* (if a Man enter any Thing deep into the Matter) is no other, than to apply and commend the Dictates of Reason to the Imagination, for the better moving of the Appetite and Will. For we see Reason is attack'd and disturb'd in her Administration by three

Means; Either by the *Illaqueation* of *Sophisms*, which pertains to *Logick*; or by the *Bewitchery* of *Words*, which pertains to *Rhetorick*; or by the *Violence* of *Passions*, which pertains to *Morality*. For as in *Negotiation* with others, a Man uses to be overcome and prevailed upon, either by *Cunning*, or by *Importunity*, or by *Vehemency*; so also in that *Inward Negotiation*, which we exercise with our selves, we are either undermined by the *Fallacies* of *Arguments*; or solicited and disquieted by the *Affiduity* of *Impressions* and *Observations*; or shaken and transported by the *Assault* of *Passions*. Neither is the Nature of Man so unfortunate, as that those Powers and Arts should have Force to dethrone Reason, and not to strengthen and establish it: Nay, much more do they conduce to this Effect, than to the contrary. For the End of *Logick* is, to teach a Form of Arguments, to secure Reason, and not to entrap it. Likewise the End of *Morality* is to compose the Affections in such manner, that they may fight for Reason, and not invade it. Lastly, the End of *Rhetorick* is to fill the Imagination with Objects and Idea's, to second Reason, not to oppress it. For the Abuses of an Art come in but *ex oblique*, for Caution, not for Use.

AND therefore it was great Injustice in *Plato* (tho' springing out of a just Hatred to the *Rhetoricians* of his Time) to place *Rhetorick*

torick amongst the Arts *Voluptuary*: Resembling it to Cookery, which did spoil wholesome Meats, and render unwholesome pleasant by Variety of Sauces. For we see that Speech is much more conversant in adorning that which is Good, than in colouring that which is Evil: For there is no Man but Speaks more honestly, than he either Thinks or Acts: And it was excellently noted by *Thucydides* in *Cleon*, That because he used to hold on the bad Side in Causes of State; therefore he was ever inveighing against Eloquence, and good Speech; as knowing full well that no Man can speak fair of Courses fordid and base; but can of honest ones, with the greatest Ease. And therefore as *Plato* said elegantly: *That Virtue, if she could be seen, would move great Love and Affection*: So seeing she cannot be shewed to the *Sense*, by corporal Shape, the next Degree is, to shew Her to *Imagination* in lively Representation: For to shew her to *Reason*, only in Subtilty of Argument, was a Thing ever derided in *Crysippus*, and many of the *Stoicks*, who thought to obtrude Virtue upon Men by sharp Disputations and Conclusions, which have no Sympathy with the Imagination and Will of Man.

AGAIN; if the Affections in themselves were pliant and obedient to Reason; it were true, there would be no great Use of Persua-

sions and Insinuations, to procure Access to the Mind; but 'twould be sufficient if Things were nakedly and simply proposed and proved: But on the contrary, the Affections make such Mutinies and Seditions (according to that,

*Video meliora proboq;
Deteriora sequor.*) —

THAT Reason would be entirely led away into Servitude and Captivity, if the Persuasions of Eloquence did not win the Imagination from taking Part with the Affections, and contract a Confederacy between Reason and Imagination, against the Affections. For it must be noted, That the Affections of themselves are ever carried to Good Apparent, and in this Respect, have somewhat in common with Reason: But herein they differ; *That the Affections behold chiefly Good Present; But Reason looking forward, beholds also that which is Future, and Good in the main.* And therefore, as Things *present* more forcibly fill the Imagination, Reason commonly yields, and is vanquish'd. But when once Eloquence and Persuasion hath made Things *Future*, and *Remote*, appear as actually *present*, then upon the Revolt of the Imagination to the side of Reason, Reason prevails.

WE conclude therefore, That *Rhetorick* can be no more charged, with the Colouring of the worse Part, than *Logick* with Sophistry, or *Morality* with Vice. . For who does not know that the Doctrines of Contraries are the same, tho' the Use be opposite? Again, *Logick* differs from *Rhetorick*, not only in this, that the One (as is commonly said) is like the *Fist*; the Other like the *Palm*;) the One, that is, handles Things closely; the Other at large;) but much more in this, That *Logick* considers Reason in its Natural Truth; *Rhetorick*, as it is planted in popular Opinions and Manners. And therefore *Aristotle* doth wisely place *Rhetorick* between *Logick* on the one Side, and *Moral* or *Civil Knowledge* on the other, as participating of both. For the Proofs and Demonstrations of *Logick*, are toward all Men indifferent and the same: But the Proofs and Persuasions of *Rhetorick*, ought to vary according to the Auditors; that a Man like a Musician, accommodating himself to different Ears, may become

Orpheus in Silvis, inter Delphinas Arion.

WHICH Kind of Application, and Variance of Speech, (if a Man desire the Perfection and Height of it) ought to be so far extended, that if a Man were to speak the
the

same Thing to several Persons, he should speak to them all respectively and several Ways. Though this *Politique Part of Eloquence in private Speech*, it is easy for the greatest Orators to want; whilst by observing their well graced Forms of Speech, they lose that Volubility of Application, and Characters of Discourse, which in Discretion they should use towards particular Persons. Certainly it would not be amiss to recommend this, of which we are speaking, to better Inquiry, and to call it, *The Wisdom of private Speech*; and to refer it to *Deficients*: A Thing surely, which the more seriously a Man shall think on, the more highly he shall value. And whether this should be placed Here, or in that Part which concerneth Policy, is a Matter of no great Consequence.

AND now let us descend to the *Deficiencies* of this Art, which (as I said) are of such a Nature, that they may be esteemed rather as Appendages, than Portions of the Art it self; and pertain all to the *Promptuary Part*, for the Furniture of Speech, and Readiness of Invention.

Colores boni & mali, simplicis & comparati.

FIRST then, I do not find any one that has well pursued, or supplied the Wisdom and Diligence too of *Aristotle*. He began to make a Collection of *the popular Signs, or Colours of Good and Evil, both Simple and Comparative*, which are as the *Sophisms* of *Rhetorick*, (as I touched before.) They are of excellent Use, especially as to Business, and the *Wisdom of private Speech*. But the Labour of *Aristotle* concerning these Colours is three Ways deficient; First, That he recites but few of many: Secondly, That their *Elenches* are not annexed: Thirdly, That he seems to have conceiv'd but a Part of the Use of them: For their Use is not more in Probation, than in Affecting and Moving. For many Forms of Speech, which are equal in *Signification*, are yet different in *Impression*. For that which is sharp, pierces far more effectually, than that which is blunt, though the Strength of the Percussion be the same. For there is no Man, but will be more raised, by hearing it said, *Your Enemies will triumph strangely at this*;

Hoc Ithacus velit, & magno mercentur Atrida;

Than

Than by hearing it barely said, *This will prejudice your Affairs.* Wherefore these *sharp-edged, and quick-pointed Speeches,* are by no means to be neglected. And since we report this Part as *deficient,* we will, after our Custom, support it with *Examples*; for Precepts will not sufficiently illustrate the Matter.

Examples of the Colours of Good and Evil, both Simple and Comparative.

The COLOUR.

1. "WHAT Men Praise and Celebrate, is Good; what they Dispraise and Reprehend, is Evil.

The ELENCH, or REPREHENSION.

THIS Colour deceives four Ways; viz. Either through *Ignorance*; or through *Want of Integrity*; or through *partial Respects,* and *Factions*; or through the *natural Dispositions*

sitions of those that *Praise* and *Dispraise*. First, Through *Ignorance*; For what signifies the Judgment of the Rabble in distinguishing and determining Good and Evil? *Phocion* discern'd better, who, when the People applauded him more than ordinary, asked, *Whether he had done any Thing amiss?* Secondly, Through *Want of Integrity*; For those that *Praise* and *Dispraise*, commonly carry on their own Designs, and don't speak what they think.

Laudat venales qui vult extrudere merces.

Hor. Lib. 2. Epist. 2.

SO again; *It is naught, it is naught,* (*says the Buyer;*) *but when he is gone, he vaunteth.* Prov. xx. Thirdly, Out of *Partiality* and *Faction*; For every one knows, that Men use to extoll with immoderate Praise, those that are on their own Side; and to depress those of the adverse Party below their Desert: Lastly, Through *natural Temper and Inclination*; For some Men are by Nature framed and moulded for servile Fawning and Flattery; whilst others, on the contrary, are stiff, captious and morose; and when these Commend or Inveigh, they do but comply with their own Humours, not troubling their Heads over-much about the Truth of the Business.

The

The COLOUR.

2. " That which draws Commendation
" even from Enemies, is a great Good ; But
" that which is reprehended even by Friends,
" is a great Evil.

THIS *Colour* seems to stand upon this Foundation, That it may well be believed, that the Force of Truth extorts from us whatsoever we speak against our Wills, and contrary to the Bent and Inclination of our Minds.

The REPREHENSION.

THIS *Colour* deceives through the Subtily, as well of *Enemies* as *Friends*. For the Praises of *Enemies* are not always against their Wills, nor as forc'd by Truth, but they chuse to bestow them in such Cases where they may create Envy or Danger to their *Adversaries*. Therefore the *Grecians* had a superstitious Fancy, That if a Man were commended by another out of Spight, and with a mischievous Design, *He would have a Push rise upon his Nose*. Again it deceives, because Enemies sometimes bestow Praises, like Preambles as it were, that they may the more freely and maliciously calumniate afterwards. On the other side, this *Colour* deceives also, from the
Craft

Craft of *Friends*. For even they sometimes will take Notice of the Faults of *Friends*, and speak freely of them ; but they chuse such as may do them little hurt, as if for all the rest they were the best Men in the World. Again it deceives, because *Friends* also use their Reprehensions (as we said *Enemies* do their Commendations) as certain little Prefaces, that they may expatiate more largely in their Praises soon after.

The COLOUR.

3. " THAT whose Privation is Good,
" is an Evil ; That whose Privation is Evil,
" is a Good.

The REPREHENSION.

THIS Colour deceives two Ways ; Either by Reason of the *Comparison* of Good and Evil ; Or by Reason of the *Succession* of Good to Evil, or of Evil to Good. By Reason of *Comparison* ; If it were Good for Mankind to be *deprived* of the Eating of Acorns, it follows not that such Food was *Evil*, but that Mast was Good, Corn Better. Neither if it were *Evil*, for the People of *Sicily* to be deprived of *Dionysius* the Elder ; doth it follow that the same *Dionysius* was a Good Prince, but that he was less *Evil* than *Dionysius* the Younger. So in the Tale of *Æsop*, when the Old fainting Man

Man in the Heat of the Day cast down his *Burthen*, and called for *Death*; and when *Death* came to know his Will with him, said, *It was for nothing, but to help him up with his Burthen*: It doth not follow, that because *Death*, which was the Privation of the *Burthen*, was *ill*, therefore the *Burthen* was *Good*. By *Succession*; For the Privation of a *Good* does not always give Place to an *Evil*, but sometimes to a *greater Good*; as when the Flower or Blossom falls, the Fruit succeeds. Nor does the Privation of an *Evil* always give Place to a *Good*, but sometimes to a *greater Evil*. For *Clodius*, tho' an Enemy, being slain, *Milo* at the same Time lost a fair Harvest of Glory.

The COLOUR.

4. " THAT which is near to Good, is Good;
 " That which is at a Distance from Good, is
 " Evil.

SUCH is the Nature of Things, that Things contrary and distant in Nature and Quality, are also severed and disjoined in Place; and Things like and consenting in Quality, are placed, and as it were, quartered together: For partly, in Regard of the Nature, to spread, multiply, and infect in Similitude; and partly, in Regard of the Nature, to break, expel, and alter that which is disagreeable

agreeable and contrary; most Things do either affociate, and draw near to themselves the like, or at least assimilate to themselves that which approacheth near them, and do also drive away, chace, and exterminate their Contraries. And that is the Reason commonly yielded, why the middle Region of the Air should be coldest; because the Sun and Stars are either hot by direct Beams, or by Reflexion. The direct Beams heat the upper Region; the reflected Beams from the Earth and Seas, heat the lower Region. That which is in the *Midst*, being furthest distant in Place from these two Regions of Heat, are most distant in Nature, that is, *Coldest*; which is that they term *Cold*, or *Hot*, per
* *Antiperistasin*, *Environing by Contraries*: Which was pleasantly taken hold of by him, who said, That *an honest Man* in these Days must needs be more honest than in Ages heretofore, *propter Antiperistasin*, because the shutting of him in the midst of Contraries, must needs make the *Honesty* stronger, and more compact in it self.

* *Antiperistasis* is a Philosophical Term, signifying a Repulsion on every Part, whereby either Heat or Cold is made more strong in it self, by the restraining of the contrary.

The REPREHENSION.

THIS *Colour* deceives three Ways: First, in Respect of *Destitution*; Secondly, in Respect of *Obscuration*; Thirdly, in Respect of *Protection*. In Regard of *Destitution*; It happens, that Things of greatest Amplitude and Excellence in their Kind, do (as much as may be) ingross all to themselves, and leave that which is next them *most destitute*; as the Shoots or Underwood that grow near a great and spread Tree is the most pined and shrubby Wood of the Field, because the great Tree doth deprive and beguile them of the Sap and Nourishment. Likewise he saith well, *Divitis servi maxime servi*. And the Comparison was pleasant of him, that compared the inferior Attendants in the Courts of Princes to the Eves of Festivals, which are next the Holy-Day, but are themselves devoted to Fasting. In Regard of *Obscuration*; For this also is the Nature of Things most excellent and predominant in their Kind, that though they do not extenuate Things adjoyning to them, in Substance, yet they drown and obscure them in Shew and Appearance. And therefore the Astronomers say, That whereas in all other Planets, Conjunction is the perfectest Amity; the Sun contrariwise is good by Aspect, but evil by Conjunction. In Regard of *Protection*; For Things come together
and

and congregate not only for Confort and Similitude of Nature ; but even that which is *Evil* flies to that which is *Good*, for Concealment and Protection : And *Good* to *Evil* for Conversion and Reformation. So *Hypocrisy* draws near to Religion for Covert and Hiding it self.

Sæpe latet vitium proximitate boni.

Oft under neighb'ring Good, Vice shrowded lies.

THUS impious Men and Malefactors betake themselves to Sanctuaries, and to Priests, and Prelates, and Holy Men : For the Majesty of good Things is such, that the Confines of them are Reverend. So on the other side, *Good* draws near to *Evil*, not for Society, but for Conversion and Reformation. Therefore our Saviour, when it was objected to him, that he convers'd with Publicans and Sinners, said, *They that be whole need not a Physician, but they that are sick.* Matt. ix. 12.

The COLOUR.

5. " SINCE all Parties or Sects challenge
" the Preheminence of the FIRST Place
" to themselves ; That to which all the rest
" give the SECOND Place, seems to be
" better than the others. For every one

T 2

" seems

“ seems to take the FIRST Place out of
 “ Zeal to it self; but to give the SECOND
 “ where it is really due.

SO *Cicero* goes about to prove the Sect of the *Academicks*, which suspended all *Asseveration*, to have been the best of Philosophies. ‘ For (says he) ask a *Stoick*, what Sect is best, ‘ and he will prefer his own: Then ask him ‘ which is the next best, and he will confess ‘ the *Academick*. Deal thus with an *Epicure*, (who can scarce bear the Sight of a *Stoick*) and after he has seated his own Sect in the uppermost Place, he will place the *Academicks* next to him.

IN like manner, when a Place is vacant, if a Prince should take the Competitors, and examine them severally, whom next themselves they would chiefly recommend; it were likely, the ablest and most worthy Man would have the most *Second Voices*.

The REPREHENSION.

THIS *Colour* deceives, in Respect of *Envy*. For Men are accustomed, next to Themselves, and their own Faction, to incline unto them who are the softest and weakest, and stand least in their Way; in Despight and Derogation of them that hold them hardest to it. So that this *Colour* of *Meliority* and *Prebeminence*

nence is a Sign of Enervation and Weakness.

The COLOUR.

6. " THAT Kind is ALTOGETHER
" BEST, whose Excellence, or Prehem-
" nence is BEST.

APPERTAINING to this are those usual Forms : ' Let us not wander in Generalities. Let us compare Particular with Particular.

The REPREHENSION.

THIS *Appearance* seems to be of some Strength, and to be rather *Logical*, than *Rhetorical*. Yet it sometimes deceives. For many Things are casual, and liable to Danger, which nevertheless, if they escape, prove more excellent than others. So that they are inferior in *Kind*, because they are subject to *Peril*, and often miscarry; but in the *Individual* are more noble. Of this Sort is the *Blossom of March*, whereof the *Frentb* Proverb goes :

*Bourgeon de Mars, Enfants de Paris,
Si un escchape, bien vant dix.*

So that in general, the Blossom of *May* is better than the Blossom of *March* ; yet in particular,

cular, the best Blossom of *March* is better than the best Blossom of *May*.

SECONDLY; It deceives, because of the Nature of Things, which in some *Kinds*, or *Species*, is more equal, in others more unequal: Thus it has been an Observation, That warmer Climates produce generally more acute Wits; yet in colder Countries, Wits that are extraordinary, surpass the acutest of those in warm Climates. So in many Armies, if the Matter should be tried by *Duel* between particular Champions, the Victory would go on one side; and if by the *Gross*, on the other. For Excellencies go as it were by chance; but Kinds go by a more certain Nature, as by Discipline in War.

LASTLY, Many *Kinds* have much *Refuse*, which contrivail that, which they have *Excellent*; and therefore in general *Metal* is more precious than *Stone*; and yet a *Diamond* is more precious than *Gold*.

The COLOUR.

7. " THAT which keeps a Matter safe
 " and entire in our own Hands, is GOOD:
 " But what is destitute, and unprovided of a
 " Retreat, is BAD. For whereas all Ability
 " of Acting is Good: Not to be able to
 " come off, is a Kind of Impotency.

HENCE

HENCE *Æsop* framed the Fable of the two Frogs; that in a great Drought, when the *Plashes* were dry every where, consulted together what was to be done: The First propounded, *Going down into a deep Well, because it was like the Water would not fail there:* To whom the other replied; *Yea, but if it do fail, how shall we get up again?* The Ground and Foundation of this *Colour* is; That Human Actions are so uncertain and subject to Perils, that That seemeth the best Course, which hath most Passages out of it. Appertaining to this Persuasion, the usual Forms are: *You will wholly tie up, and engage your self. You will not be able to be your own Carver. The Matter will be no longer in your own Power; &c.*

The REPREHENSION.

THIS *Colour* deceives first, Because *Proceeding and Resolving in all Actions is necessary.* For as one said well, *Not to Resolve, is to Resolve.* For many Times the Suspending of Resolution breeds as many Necessities, and engages as far some other Way, as to Resolve. And this Disease of the Mind seems to be like that of covetous Men: But translated from the Desire of retaining Wealth, to the Desire of retaining Free-Will, and Power. For the covetous Man will enjoy nothing, that he

may have his full Store, and Possibility to enjoy the more ; and this Kind of Sceptick will execute nothing, because he would be still indifferent, and at Liberty to execute any Thing. Again it deceives, because Necessity, and this same *jacta est alea*, hath many Times an Advantage, in that it awakens the Powers of the Mind, and strengthens Endeavour ; as he saith, *Cæteris pares, necessitate certe superiores estis.*

The COLOUR.

8. “ That which a Man hath procured by
 “ his own Default, is a Greater Evil : That
 “ which is laid on by others, or from with-
 “ out, is a lesser Evil.

THE Reason is, because the Sting and Remorse of the Mind, accusing it self, doubles all Adversity : Contrariwise, the considering, and reflecting inwardly, that a Man is clear and free from Fault, and just Imputation, qualifies outward Calamities. For if the Evil be in the Sense, and the Conscience both, there is a Gemination of it ; but if Evil be in the one, and Comfort in the other, it is a kind of Compensation. And therefore the Poets in their Tragedies exaggerate those Sufferings most, and as Fore-runners of Despair, where-in a Man accuses and tortures himself.

Seq;

Seq; unam clamat causamq; caputq; malorum.

She railing, doth confess herself to be
The Cause and Source of her own Misery.

CONTRARIWISE, the Conscience of Innocence and Merit lessens, and even annihilates the Calamities of extraordinary Men. Besides when the Evil comes from without, a Man is at Liberty to complain, whereby his Grief evaporates, without suffocating the Heart : For in Evil proceeding from Human Injury, we use to express Indignation, or meditate Revenge, or lastly to implore, or expect Divine Vengeance and Retribution : Furthermore, if the Infliction be from Fortune it self, there is left however a kind of Expostulation with the Fates themselves ;

Atq; Deos atq; astra vocat crudelia mater.

On the other hand, where the Evil is derived from a Man's own Fault, there the Grief strikes inward, and does more deeply wound and pierce the Heart.

The REPREHENSION:

THIS Colour deceives, first in Respect of Hope ; which is a great Antidote against Evils. For Reformation of our Fault is often
in

in our Power ; but the Amendment of Fortune is not so. Therefore *Demosthenes* more than once bespeaks his *Athenians* thus ; *That which, with Regard to the Time past, is the worst Point and Circumstance of all the rest, the same, as to the Time to come, is the best. What is that ? Even this, that by your Sloth, Irresolution, and Misgovernment, your Affairs are grown to this Declension and Decay. For had you used and ordered your Means and Forces to the best, and done your Parts every way to the full, and notwithstanding your Matters should have gone backward in this manner as they do, there had been no Hope of your State becoming better, &c.* So *Epietetus* speaking of the Degrees of Tranquillity of Mind, assigns the Lowest Place to those who blame others ; an Higher to those who blame themselves ; and the Highest of all to such as blame neither themselves, nor others.

ANOTHER Reprehension of this Colour, is in Respect of the well-bearing of Evils, wherewith a Man can charge no Body but himself, which makes them the less.

Leve fit, quod bene fertur onus.

AND therefore many Natures, that are either extremely proud, and will take no Fault to themselves ; or else very true, and cleaving to themselves (when they see the Blame
of

of any Thing that falls out ill, must light upon themselves) have no other shift, but to bear it out well, and to make the least of it. For as we see when a Fault is committed, and it is not yet known who is the Delinquent, Men make much ado, grow hot and impatient about the Matter ; but after, if it appear to be done by a Son, or by a Wife, or by a near Friend, then it is light made of, and presently all is Quiet : So much more, when any thing falls out, the Blame whereof must needs light upon our selves. And this commonly happens in Women, who if they have made an unfortunate Choice against their Parents or Friends Consent, if they be never so ill used, yet you shall seldom see them complain, but set a good Face on it.

The COLOUR.

9. " THE Degree of Privation seems
" greater than the Degree of Diminution :
" And again, the Degree of Inception seems
" greater than the Degree of Increase.

IT is a Position in Mathematicks, *That there is no Proportion between Somewhat and Nothing.* Therefore the Degrees of Nullity and Quiddity seem larger than the Degrees of Increase and Decrease. As to a *Monoculus*, it is more to lose one Eye, than to a Man that hath two Eyes. So if a Man has divers Children,

dren, it is more Grief to him to lose the last, than all the rest. Because he is *Spes gregis*. And therefore *Sibylla* when she brought her Three Books, and had burnt Two, doubled the Price of the Third; because the Loss of that had been a Degree of Privation, and not of Diminution.

The REPREHENSION.

THIS *Colour* deceives, first in Respect of those Things, the Use and Service whereof consists in a certain Sufficiency, or Competency, that is, in a determinate Quantity. For if a Man were obliged to pay upon Penalty a certain Sum of Money upon a certain Day, it would be more to him to want one Twelve Pence, than if (supposing he could not tell where to be furnish'd with this one Twelve Pence) he wanted Ten Shillings at another Time. So in the Decay of a Man's Estate, the Degree of Debt which first lessens the principal Stock, and casts him behind, seems worse than the last Degree, that reduces him to Want. And to this Purpose are the common Forms; *It is too late to pinch, when the Purse is at Bottom*; And, *As good never a whit, as never the better, &c.*

SECONDLY, It deceives, in Respect of that Principle in Nature, that the *Corruption of one Thing is the Generation of another*. So that

that even the Degree of ultimate Privation is sometimes no great Matter, because it gives a Handle and a Spur to some new Course. As when *Demosthenes* reprehended the People for hearkening to the Conditions offered by King *Philip*, being not honourable, nor equal, he saith, *They were but Aliments of their Cowardice and Sloth; which if they were taken away, Necessity would teach them stronger Resolutions.* So Doctor *Hector* was wont to say to the Dames of *London*, when they complained they were *they could not tell how*; but yet they could not endure to take any Medicine, he would tell them, *Their Way was only to be sick; for then they would be glad to take any Medicine.*

THIRDLY, This Colour may be reprehended in Regard the Degree of *Decrease* is more sensible than the Degree of *Privation*; for in the Mind of Man, the Degree of *Decrease* may work a Wavering between Hope and Fear, and keep the Mind in Suspense, from Settling and Accomodating in Patience, and Resolution. Hence the common Forms; *Better Eye out, than always ake: Make or Mar.*

AS for the second Branch of this Colour, it depends upon the same General Reason: Hence grew the common Place of extolling the *Beginning* of every Thing;

Dimidium

Dimidium facti, qui bene cœpit, habet.

He hath his Work half done,
Whoe'er hath well begun.

THIS made the *Astrologer* so idle, as to judge of Man's Nature, and Destiny, by the Constellation of the Moment of his Nativity, or Conception.

The REPREHENSION.

THIS Colour deceives, First, Because in many Things the first Inceptions are but (as *Epicurus* terms them) *Tentamenta*, that is, *Imperfect Offers*, and *Essays*, which vanish and come to nothing, without Iteration and Improvement. Wherefore, in such Cases, the second Degree seems worthier, and more potent, than the first; as the Body-Horse in the Cart, draws more than the Fore-Horse. Hence the common Forms; *The second Blow makes the Fray. The second Word makes the Bargain. Alter principium dedit, alter modum abstulit, &c.* The one began, the other kept no Mean.

ANOTHER Reprehension of this Colour, is in Respect of *Defatigation*, which makes *Perseverance* of greater Dignity than *Inception*: For Chance or Instinct of Nature
may

may cause *Inception* ; but settled Affection, or Judgment, maketh the *Continuance*.

THIRDLY, This *Colour* is reprehended in such Things, which have a natural Course and Inclination, contrary to an *Inception* ; so that the first *Inception* is perpetually evacuated, and gets no Start, unless the Force be continued ; as in the common Forms ; *Non progredi, est regredi* ; And *Qui non proficit, deficit* ; Not to go forward, is to go backward, &c. As in Running against a Hill ; In Rowing against the Stream. But on the other side, if it be with the Hill, or with the Stream ; then the Degree of *Inception* is more than all the rest.

FOURTHLY, This *Colour* is to be understood, Of the Degree of *Inception*, in Comparison of the *Power* with the *Act* : Not of the Degree from the *Act* to the *Increase*. For otherwise, The Degree from *Impotency* to *Potency*, seems greater, than from the *Power* to the *Act*.

The COLOUR.

10. " THAT which hath Relation to
" Truth, is greater, than that which refers to
" Opinion. But the Measure and Trial of that
" which belongs to Opinion, is this : It is
" that which a Man would not do, if he thought
" it would not be known. SO

SO the *Epicureans* say of the *Stoicks* Felicity placed in Virtue ; That it is like the Felicity of a Player, who if he were left of his Auditors, and their Applause, would strait be out of Heart and Countenance ; And therefore they call Virtue a *Stage-Good*. It is otherwise in Riches ; of which one saith ;

Populus me sibilat ; at mihi plaudo.

LIKEWISE in Pleasure ;

————— *Grata sub imo*
Gaudia corde premens, vultu simulante dolorem.

The REPREHENSION.

THE Fallacy of this *Colour* is somewhat subtil ; though the Answer to the Example alledged, be ready. For Virtue is not chosen, for the sake of popular Applause ; It being a Rule given, *That a Man should reverence himself most of all*. So that a Good Man will be the same in a Desert, that he is in the Theater ; though perhaps Virtue may be more strong by Glory and Fame, as Heat is doubled by Reflexion. But this denies the Supposition, without reprehending the Fallacy. The Reprehension then is this : Though it be granted, that Virtue (such especially as is joined with Labour and Conflict) would not be

be chosen, but for her Concomitants Praise and Fame; yet it follows not, that the chief Motive of the Election should not be real, and for it self; For Fame may be only the *Impelling* or *Urging Cause*, and not the *Constituting* or *Efficient Cause*. For Example; If there were two Horses, and the one would perform better without the Spur than the other: But again, the other with the Spur would far exceed the Performance of the former, giving him the Spur also; the latter will be judged to be the better Horse: And the Form of Saying, *Poh! the Life of this Horse is but in the Spur*, will not serve as to a wise Judgment: For, since the ordinary Instrument of Horsemanship is the Spur, and and that it is no Matter of Impediment or Burthen, the Horse is not to be accounted the less of, which will not do well without the Spur, but the other is to be reckoned rather a Delicacy, than a Virtue. So Glory and Honour are the Spurs to Virtue: And although Virtue would languish without them, yet since they are always at hand to attend Virtue, Virtue is not said to be the less chosen for it self, because it needed the Spur of Fame and Reputation. And therefore that Position (*viz. That the Mark of a Thing chosen for Opinion, and not for Truth, is this; That one would not do it, if he thought it would not be known;*) is reprehended.

The COLOUR.

II. " THAT which is got by our own
 " Pains and Ability, is a greater Good ;
 " That which comes by another Man's Cour-
 " tesy, or the Indulgence of Fortune, is a
 " lesser Good.

THE Reasons are these : First, in Respect of *Future Hope* : Because in the Favour of others, or even the good Winds of Fortune, we have no Hold or Certainty ; but our own Endeavours or Abilities are always ready at hand. So that, when any Good has been procured to us this way, the same Instruments still remain ready for a new Purchase ; nay, by Custom and Success, render'd stronger and better edged. The Forms are : *You have won this by Play. You have not only the Water, but you have the Receipt. You can make it again, if it be lost, &c.*

SECONDLY, Because what we enjoy by the Benefit of others, we are also Debtors to others for ; Whereas the other which we derive from our selves, carries no Load with it, being like the *Freest Patents, Absq; aliquo inde reddendo*. Again, if the Divine Providence confer a Favour upon us, it demands a Kind of Retribution towards the Goodness of God, which stings ungracious and wicked Men ;

Men ; Whereas, in the other Kind, that of the Prophet comes to pass : *They rejoyce and are glad, they sacrifice unto their Net, and burn Incense unto their Drag.* Habac. 1. 15.

THIRDLY, Because that which cometh unto us, without our own Virtue, yieldeth not that Commendation and Reputation. For Actions of great Felicity, draw Wonder, but not Praise. As Cicero says to Caesar ; * *We have what we may wonder at, but expect what to praise.*

FOURTHLY, Because the Purchases of our own Industry, are joyned commonly with Labour and Striving, which gives an Edge and Appetite ; as Solomon says, *Suavis cibus a venatu ; Venison is sweet of one's own Killing.*

The Counter-Colours.

ON the other side, there are four *Counter-Colours* to this *Colour*, rather than *Reprehensions* ; because they are as large as the *Colour* it self.

FIRST, Because Felicity seems to be a Sign and Character of the Divine Favour ;

* *Pro M. Mar.*

and accordingly works both Confidence and Alacrity in our selves, and Respect and Authority from others. And this Felicity extends to Fortuitous Things, whereunto the Care and Virtue of Man cannot reach ; and therefore seemeth to be at large *Good*. As when *Cæsar* said to the Sailer, by way of Encouragement ; *Thou carriest Cæsar, and his Fortune* : Had he said, *Thou carriest Cæsar, and his Valour* ; it had been small Comfort against a Tempest ; otherwise than if it might seem upon Merit, to induce Fortune.

SECONDLY, Because those Things, which proceed from Virtue, or Industry, seem to be done by a Kind of Habit, and Art, and are *imitable*, and open to others ; whereas Felicity is a Thing *inimitable*, and the Prerogative of some singular Person. So we generally see, that Things Natural are preferr'd before Things Artificial, because they are inimitable ; for the Power of Imitating makes a Thing common.

THIRDLY, Those Things that come from Felicity have this Recommendation, that they seem *Free Gifts*, whereas Things purchased by our own Virtue, seem *Penny-worths*. Whereupon *Plutarch* saith elegantly of the Acts of *Timoleon*, the most Fortunate of all Men, compared with the Acts of *Agefilas* and *Epaminondas*, who lived in the same Age:
That

That the former were like Homer's Verses, they ran so easily, and so well.

FOURTHLY, This same *Præter spem, vel expectatum*, (when Things-happen besides Hope or Expectation) increases the Price and Pleasure of many Things. But this is not incident to those Things, that proceed from our own Care and Compassing.

The COLOUR.

12. " THAT which consists of more
 " Parts, and those Divisible, is Greater, and
 " more One, than what is made up of Few-
 " er: For all Things when they are look'd
 " upon piece-meal, seem Greater; whence
 " also a Plurality of Parts make Shew of a
 " Bulk considerable. And a Plurality of
 " Parts works more strongly, if they be in no
 " certain Order; for it then resembles an
 " Infinity, and hinders the Comprehending
 " of them.

THIS Colour seems a palpable Fallacy, even at first Sight; for it is not Plurality of Parts, without Majority of Parts, that maketh the Total greater; yet nevertheless it often carries the Imagination away; yea, it deceiveth the Sense. For it seemeth to the Eye a shorter Distance of Way, if it be all dead and continued, than if it have Trees, or Build-
 U 3 ings,

ings, or any other Marks, whereby the Eye may divide it. So when a great Money'd Man hath divided his Chests, and Coins, and Bags, he seemeth to himself Richer than he was. And therefore the way to amplify any Thing is to break it, and to make Anatomy of it in several Parts, and to examin it according to several Circumstances. And this maketh the greater Shew, if it be done without Order: For Confusion begets an Opinion of Multitude. And besides, what is set down by Order and Division, doth demonstrate, that nothing is left out or omitted; but all is there: Whereas if it be without Order, both the Mind comprehendeth less that which is set down; and besides it leaveth a Suspicion, as if more might be said than is express'd.

The REPREHENSION.

THIS *Colour* deceives; First, When the Mind of him that is to be persuaded, over-conceives or prejudices of the Greatness of any Thing; for then the Breaking of it will make it seem less, and rectify that false Opinion, and present the Object in its natural Truth, and without Amplification. Wherefore if a Man be in Sicknes or in Pain, the Time will seem longer to him without a Clock, or an Hour-Glass, than if it were measured with them: For if the Tedioufness and Vexation of a Disease, make the Time seem longer

longer than in Truth it is; yet the Computation of Time reforms that Mistake, and makes it shorter than that erroneous Opinion conceiv'd it to be. So in a dead Plain (contrary to what was said just now) it sometimes falls out; for though at first the Eye preconceiv'd the Way shorter, because it was undivided; yet if upon this Supposition, an Opinion possesses the Imagination of a far shorter Space of Ground than it proves to be, the Frustrating of that false Conceit, will make it seem longer than the Truth. Therefore if any Man desire to humour and second the false Opinion of another, touching the Greatness of any Thing, let him beware of Distributions, and breaking it into several Considerations, but let him out of Hand extol the Matter entire, and in the gross.

SECONDLY, This *Colour* deceives, when the Matter broken, or divided, is distracted or scattered, and not presented entire and at one View to the Eye. Therefore an Hundred Pounds in Heaps of Five Pounds will shew more than in one gross Heap; so the Heaps be all upon one Table to be seen at once; otherwise not. Thus Flowers, growing scattered in divers Beds, will shew more than if they were all growing in one Bed; so the Beds be within a Plot, that they may be the Object of View at once; otherwise Union is of more Force than scattered Distribution.

Therefore Their Revenues seem greater, whose Lands lie together in one Shire; for if they were dispersed, they would not fall so easily within Notice and Comprehension.

THIRDLY, This *Colour* deceives in Respect of the Dignity of Unity above Multitude. For all Composition is a certain Mark of Indigence and Deficiency in the Particulars; because if one Thing would serve the Turn, it were ever best; but it is the Defect and Imperfection of Things that hath brought in that Help to piece one Thing with the Addition of another.

THEREFORE *Mary* had chosen the better Part. *Martha, Martha, thou art troubled about many Things; but One Thing is sufficient. Luke x. 41.* Hereupon *Æsop* framed the Fable of the Fox and the Cat: Wherein the Fox bragged, what a Number of Shifts and Devices he had, to get from the Hounds; and the Cat said, He had but one, which was to climb a Tree; which in Proof was better worth than all the rest; whence the Proverb;

Multa novit Vulpes, sed Felis unum magnum.

Reynard the Hounds to 'scape, had Shifts not small,
Grimalkin only one as good as all.

AND

AND in the Moral of this Fable, it comes likewise to pass, That *a good sure Friend is a better Help at a Pinch, than all the Stratagems and Policies of a Man's own Wit.* So it falleth out to be a common Error in Negotiating; when Men have many Reasons to induce or persuade, they strive commonly to utter, and use them all at once, which weakens them. For it argueth, as was said, a Neediness in every of the Reasons by it self, as if one did not trust to any of them, but fled from one to another, helping himself with That,

Et quæ non profunt singula, multa juvant.

And what help'd not *Alone* before,
Doth help full well, when joyn'd with *More*.

Indeed in a set Speech in an Assembly, it is expected, a Man should use all his Reasons in the Case he handleth: But in private Persuasions, it is always a great Error.

A Fourth Case, wherein this Colour may be reprehended, is, in Respect of that same *Vis unita fortior*; *The acknowledg'd Strength of an united Power*; according to the Tale of the French King, who, when the Emperor's Embassador had recited his Master's Style at large, which consisteth of many Countries
and

and Dominions; the *French King* willed his *Chancellor*, or other *Minister*, to repeat *France* as many Times as the other had recited the several *Dominions*; meaning it was equivalent to them all, and more *compact* and *united*.

T H E R E is also appertaining to this *Colour* another Point, Why Breaking of a Thing doth help it; not by way of adding a Shew of Magnitude unto it, but a Note of Excellency and Rarity: Whereof the Forms are; *Where shall you find such a Concurrence? Great, but not Compleat*: For it seems a less Work of Nature or Fortune, to make any Thing in his Kind *greater than ordinary*, than to make a *strange* Composition. Yet, if it be narrowly considered, this *Colour* will be reprehended, or encounter'd, by imputing to all Excellencies in Compositions a Kind of Poverty, or at least a Casualty, or Jeopardy: For from that, which is excellent in *Greatness*, somewhat may be taken, or there may be a Decay, and yet sufficiently left; but from that which hath his Price in *Composition*, if you take away any Thing, or any Part do fail, all is Disgrace. Thus much of *Popular Marks*, or of the *Colours* of Good and Evil in Appearance, as well *Simple* as *Comparative*.

A Second Collection, which appertains to the Promptuary Part, is that, which *Cicero* hints; when he gives it in Precept, That we should have in Readiness *Common Places*, argued *Pro* and *Con*; such as, *For the Words of the Law*, and *For the Sense of the Law*, &c. But we extend this Precept to other Things also, applying it not only to the *Judicial* Kind, but to the *Deliberative* and *Demonstrative* also. And in our Opinion, the Manner of this Collection as well for Use as Brevity, would be the best, if such *Places* were cast up into some brief and acute Sentences, as into Skains or Bottoms of Thread to be drawn out, and unwinded into larger Discourses, as Occasion serves. Of this sort (having a great many ready prepared) we have thought good to lay down some for a Pattern. These we call *Antitheta Rerum*.

Examples

Examples of the *Antitheta.*

Nobility. I.

Pro.

THEY whose Virtue is deeply implanted in them from the Stock; these have not only no Will, but not so much as a Power to be wicked.

NOBILITY is a Garland of Bays, wherewith **TIME** crowns Men.

WE reverence Antiquity even in dead Monuments; How much more in Living?

IF you despise the Nobility of Families;

Contra.

NOBILITY seldom springs from Virtue; Virtue more seldom from Nobility.

NOBLEMEN oftner use the Intercession of their Ancestors for Pardon, than their Suffrage for Honours.

THE Industry of new Rising Men uses to be so great, that Noblemen, in Comparison of them, seem as Statues.

NOBLEMEN look too often back in the Course;

Pro.

Con.

lies; What Difference will there be between the Race of Men, and that of Beasts?

Course; which is the Quality of an ill Racer.

NOBILITY withdraws Virtue from Envy, and recommends it to Grace and Favour.

Beauty. II.

Pro.

Con.

DEFORMED Persons are usually reveng'd of Nature.

VIRTUE, like a rich Jewel, is best set without much Gold and Ornament.

AS Virtue is nothing else but an Inward Beauty; so is Beauty nothing else but an Outward Virtue.

WHAT a fair Vestment is to a deform'd Person, the same is Beauty to an ill Man.

DEFORMED Persons seek to rescue them-

THEY are for the most part equally light,

Pro.

Con.

themselves from Scorn
by a natural Malice.

light, both those whom
Beauty adorns, and
whom it moves.

BEAUTY makes
Virtues shine, Vices
blush.

Youth. III.

Pro.

Con.

OUR first Thoughts,
and the Counsels of
Youth, are more Di-
vine.

YOUTH is the
Field of Repentance.

OLD Men are
more wise for them-
selves, than they are
for others, and the
Republick.

THERE is in
Youth an inbred Con-
tempt of the Authori-
ty of Age; that every
one may grow wise at
his own Peril.

IF it could be
made visible, Old Age
doth more deform the
Mind than the Body.

OLD Men fear all
Things, but the Gods.

Health.

Health. IV.

Pro.

A sound Body is the Soul's Host ; a sickly Body, her Gao-ler.

NOTHING so promotes the Sum of Business, as a prosperous State of Body ; on the contrary, a sickly Constitution, makes too many Holy-days.

Con.

THE Excuse of Indisposition is of much and frequent Use ; to which we fly even when we are well.

HEALTH unites the Soul and the Body in too strict a League.

BOTH the Couch hath govern'd mighty Empires ; and the Litter mighty Armies.

Wife and Children. V.

Pro.

CHARITY to the Common-wealth be-
gins

Con.

HE that hath Wife and Children, hath

Pro.

Con.

gins at a private Family.

WIFE and Children are a Kind of Discipline of Humanity; but unmarried Men are froward and cruel.

SINGLE Life and a Childless State are good for nothing but for Flight.

HE sacrifices to Death, that procreates no Children.

THEY that are happy in other Respects, are commonly unfortunate in their Children; lest being Men they should approach too near to a Condition Divine.

hath given Hostages to Fortune.

GENERATION and Issue are Human Acts; Creation, and Works, are Acts Divine.

ISSUE is the Eternity of Beasts; Fame, Merits, Rules, and Ordinances, the Eternity of Men.

OECONOMICAL Respects many Times supplant Publick ones.

SOME Persons have liked the Fortune of *Priam*, who surviv'd his whole Posterity.

Riches. VI.

Pro.

Con.

THEY despise Riches, that despair of them.

AN Envy conceiv'd against Riches hath made Virtue a Goddess.

WHILST the Philosophers are disputing, whether all Things ought to be referr'd to Virtue or Pleasure; Gather you the Instruments of both.

OTHER Goods have a Provincial Command; Riches only, a General one.

OF great Riches there is either a Custody, or a Distribution, or a Fame from them, but no solid Use to the Owner.

DO you not see what feigned Prices are set upon little Stones, and other Curiosities, that there may seem to be some Use of great Riches?

I cannot call Riches better than the Baggage of Virtue; for they are both necessary, and cumbersome to Virtue.

RICHES are a good Handmaid, but the worst Mistress.

Honours. VII.

Pro.

HONOURS make both Virtues and Vices conspicuous; therefore Those they Provoke, These they Check.

N O Man can tell what Proficiency he hath made in the Race of Virtue; unless Honours afford him an open Field.

THE Motion of Virtue, as of other Things, is violent to its Place, calm in its Place: And the proper Place of Virtue is Honour.

Con.

WHILST we seek Honours, we lose Liberty.

HONOURS commonly give Men a Power to do those Things, wherein the best Condition is, not to Will; the next, not to be Able.

THE Ascent to Honours is steep, the Standing slippery, the Regress a Downfall.

M E N in great Place had need borrow the Opinion of the Common People, to think themselves Happy.

Empire.

Empire. VIII.

Pro.

TO enjoy Happiness, is a great Blessing; but to be able to impart it to others, is still a greater.

KINGS are more like Stars than Men: For they have a great Influence, both upon particular Persons, and upon Times themselves.

TO resist God's Vicegerents, is not only the Crime of Treason, but a Kind of Theomachy.

Con.

WHAT a miserable State is it, to have few Things to desire, and infinite Things to fear?

PRINCES are like Heavenly Bodies, which have much Veneration, but no Rest.

Praise, Reputation. IX.

Pro.

PRAISES are the reflexed Beams of Virtue.

PRAISE is that Honour which we arrive at by Free Voices.

THE Voice of the People hath something of Divinity in it; else how should so many Men agree to be of one Mind?

Con.

FAME is a worse Judge, than a Messenger.

WHAT has a good Man to do with the *Saliva* of the Mob?

FAME, like a River, bears up Things light and swoln; but drowns Things weighty and solid.

THE Common People praise the Lowest Virtues, admire the Middle, but have no Notion of the Highest.

PRAISE is the Effect of Ostentation more than Merit; and is the Portion of the

Con.

the Windy more than
of the Solid and Sub-
stantial.

Nature. X.

Pro.

CUSTOM against
Nature, is a Kind of
Tyranny ; and quick-
ly, and upon light Oc-
casion, falls to the
Ground.

Con.

WE Think ac-
cording to Nature ;
We Talk according to
Rule ; but We Act
according to Custom.

Fortune. XI.

Pro.

FORTUNE is
to be honoured and
respected, if it be but
for her Daughters,
Confidence, and Au-
thority.

Con.

THE Folly of one
Man is the Fortune
of another.

Life. XII.

Pro.

IT is absurd to love the Accidents of Life, more than Life it self.

A full Course of Life is better than a short one, in Order to all Things, yea even Virtue.

WITHOUT a good Compass of Life, we can neither Accomplish, nor Learn throughly, nor Repent.

Con.

THE Philosophers, by making such mighty Preparations against Death, have made it more terrible.

MEN fear Death, because they do not know it, as Children fear to go in the Dark.

YOU can find no Passion in the Mind of Man so weak, but, if it be a little prest, it masters the Fear of Death.

A Man would die, though he were neither Valiant nor Miserable, only upon a Weariness of doing the same Things over and over again.

Superstition.

Superstition. XIII.

Pro.

THOSE that Err out of Zeal, are not to be approved, but may be loved.

MEDIOCRITIES are due to Moral Matters ; Extremes to Divine.

I had rather believe all the Fables in the *Legend*, and the *Talmud*, and the *Alcoran*, than that this Universal Frame is without a Supreme Being.

Con.

AS it adds Deformity to an Ape, to be so like a Man ; so the Similitude of Superstition to Religion, makes it the more deform'd.

LOOK how odious Affectation is in Matters Civil ; so hateful is Superstition, in Matters Divine.

IT were better to have no Belief of a Deity at all, than such an one as is reproachful to Him.

Pride. XIV.

Pro.

PRIDE is incompatible even with Vi-

Con.

PRIDE is the Ivy of Virtues, and
X 4 of

Pro.

Con.

Vices : And as Poyson is expelled by Poyson, so are many Vices by Pride.

AN Easy Nature is liable even to the Vices of others ; but a Proud Spirit, to his own only.

PRIDE, if it rise from Contempt of others, to a Contempt of it self, will at last be chang'd into Philosophy.

of all good Qualities.

PRIDE wants the best Condition of Vices, that is, Concealment.

Ingratitude. XV.

Pro.

Con.

THE Crime of Ingratitude is nothing else but a piercing Discernment of the Cause of the Benefit conferr'd.

THE Obligations of Benefits are more strict than of Duties ; Wherefore he that is ungrateful, is unjust, and all Things.

WHILST

Pro.

WHILST we endeavour to be grateful to some, we neither do Justice to others, nor reserve Liberty to our selves.

THE Requital of a Kindness is the less to be made ; because the Value of it is uncertain.

Envy. XVI.

Pro.

IT is natural for a Man to hate what upbraids him with his own Fortune.

ENVY in States is a Kind of wholesome Ostracism.

Con.

ENVY makes no Holy-Days.

NOTHING but Death can reconcile Envy to Virtue.

ENVY exercises Virtue with Labours, as *Juno* did *Hercules*.

Incon-

Incontinence. XVII.

Pro.

CHASTITY may thank Jealousy that She is become a Virtue.

OF Loves, as of Wild Fowl, there is Property ; but the Right is made over with the Possession.

Con.

UNCHASTITY is *Circe's* worst Transformation.

AN unchaste Liver has utterly lost the Reverence of himself ; which is the Bridle of all Vices.

ALL with *Paris*, that make Beauty their Choice, forfeit Wisdom and Power.

ALEXANDER happen'd upon no Vulgar Truth, when he said, That Sleep and Lust were the Earnests of Death.

Cruelty.

Cruelty. XVIII.

Pro.

Con.

NO Virtue is so often guilty as Clemency.

TO delight in Blood is the part either of a Beast, or of a Fury.

CRUELTY, if it proceed from Revenge, is Justice; if from Danger, Wisdom.

CRUELTY to a good Man seems Fabulous, and a Tragical Fiction.

HE that shews Mercy to his Enemy, denies it to himself.

PHLEBOTOMY is not more necessary in the Natural Body, than in the Politick.

Vain-Glory. XIX.

Pro.

Con.

HE that is so staunch, as to regard nothing that is Foreign, it may be feared

VAIN - glorious Persons are always Factious, Liars, Inconstant, Over-doing.
THRASO

Pro.

ed that he will account Publick Matters Foreign.

DISPOSITIONS that have something vain in them, more easily undertake the Charge of the Publick.

Con.

THRASO is *Gnatbo's* Prey.

IT is a Shame for a Lover to make Suit to the Hand-maid : And Praise is Virtue's Hand-maid.

Justice. **XX.**

Pro.

WE are beholden to Justice, That Man is to Man a God, and not a Wolf.

JUSTICE, though it cannot extirpate Vice, yet it keepeth it from doing Hurt.

Con.

IF we must give every one his Due, then surely Pardon to Humanity.

Fortitude.

Fortitude. XXI.

Pro.

NOTHING is terrible but Fear it self.

THERE is nothing either solid in Pleasure, or secured in Virtue, where Fear infects.

HE that confronts Dangers with open Eyes, that he may receive them, marks also how to avoid them.

OTHER Virtues free us from the Dominion of Vice; Fortitude alone from the Dominion of Fortune.

Con.

THAT's a goodly Virtue to be sure, to be willing to die, that you may destroy.

THAT's a noble Virtue sure, which even Drunkenness gives.

HE that is prodigal of his own Life, is a dangerous Man to that of another's.

FORTITUDE is a Virtue of the Iron Age.

Temperance.

Temperance. XXII.

Pro.

TO *Abstain* and to
Sustain, are in effect
the same Ability.

UNIFORMITIES,
Concords, and Mea-
sures of Motions, are
Things Celestial, and
the Characters of E-
ternity.

TEMPERANCE,
like wholesome Colds,
concentrates and
strengthens the Force
of the Mind.

Con.

THAT Mind lan-
guishes, that is not
spirited by Excess.

I love those Virtues
which induce Viva-
city of Action, not
Dullness of Passion.

Constancy. XXIII.

Pro.

CONSTANCY is
the Basis of all Vir-
tues.

HE

Con.

CONSTANCY,
like a surly morose
Portress, turns away
many useful Informa-
tions.

THERE

Pro.

Con.

HE is a miserable Man, that does not know, what he shall or may be.

CONSTANCY gives a Gracefulness even to Vice.

IF to the Inconstancy of Fortune, Inconstancy of Mind also be added, in what a Darkness do we live?

FORTUNE, like *Proteus*, if you persevere, returns to her true Shape.

THERE is good Reason, that Constancy should patiently endure Crosses, for she commonly brings them.

THE shortest Folly is the best.

Magnanimity. XXIV.

Pro.

Con.

WHEN once the Mind has made Choice of Noble Ends, it is immediately surrounded and guarded not

MAGNANIMITY is a Poetical Virtue.

Pro.

not only by the Vir-
tues, but by the Dei-
ties.

Knowledge, Contemplation. XXV.

Pro.

THAT Pleasure,
when all is done, is
according to Nature,
whereof there is no
Satiety.

THE sweetest Pro-
spect is that which
looks upon the Errors
of others, in the Vale
below.

Con.

CONTEMPLA-
TION is a specious
Sloth.

GOOD Thoughts
are not much better
than good Dreams.

GOD takes Care
of the World; Take
thou Care of thy
Country.

Learning. XXVI.

Pro.

IF there were
Books written about
Minute Matters, there
would

Con.

IN Universities
they learn to believe.

WHAT

Pro.

Con.

would scarce be any
Use of Experience.

READING is a
Converse with the
Wise; Action for the
most part, with Fools.

SCIENCES are
not to be accounted
useless, that are of no
Use in themselves, if
they sharpen and mar-
shall the Wit.

WHAT Art ever
taught the seasonable
Use of Art?

TO be wise by
Rule, and by Experi-
ence, are perfectly op-
posite Methods; so
that he that is accu-
stomed to the One, is
unfit for the Other.

THERE is many
Times an impertinent
Use of Art, lest there
should be no Use at
all of it.

THIS is the way
generally of all Aca-
demicks, to Acknow-
ledge what they Know
of any thing, and not
to Learn what they do
not Know.

Readiness. XXVII.

Pro.

THAT is no opportune Wisdom, that is not quick and nimble.

HE that is wise upon Deliberation, and not upon present Occasion, performs nothing Great.

Con.

THAT Wisdom is not far fetcht, nor deep, which is ready at hand.

WHAT is invented in a short time, pleases but for a short time.

Silence in Matters of Secrecy. XXVIII.

Pro.

FROM a silent Man nothing is concealed; because all Things are safely communicated.

HE that easily Talks what he Knows, Talks also what he Knows not.

EVEN

Con.

SECRECY is the Virtue of a Confessor.

FROM a secret Man all things are conceal'd; because Silence is repaid.

A close Man is next a-kin to an unknown Man.

Pro.

EVEN Myſteries
are due to the Secret.

Facility. XXIX.

Pro.

I like a Man that
is pliant to another's
Inclination, but yet
keeps his Judgment
from Obſequiouſneſs.

HE that is flexible
comes neareſt to the
Nature of Gold.

Con.

FACILITY is an
inept Privation of
Judgment.

HE owes the
Thanks to himſelf,
that obtains any thing
of an eaſy Man.

AN eaſy Man is
preſs'd with all Diffi-
culties ; for he enga-
ges in all.

AN eaſy Man
commonly comes off
with Diſcredit.

Popularity. XXX.

Pro.

THE same things commonly please wise Men, but to humour the Changeableness of Fools, is a Point of Wisdom.

TO Honour the People, is to be Honoured.

THEY who themselves are great Men, have no one Person generally to fear, but the People.

Con.

HE that sorts well with Fools, may himself be suspected.

HE that pleases the Mob, is commonly a Raiser of the Mob.

NOTHING moderate pleases the Common People.

FLATTERY of the People, is the lowest Degree of Flattery.

Loquacity. XXXI.

Pro.

HE that is silent, is either jealous of others, or of himself.

ALL

Con.

SILENCE adds both Grace and Authority to a Man's Words.

SI-

Pro.

ALL Restraints are miserable, but that of the Tongue most so.

SILENCE is the Virtue of Fools : Therefore He said well to a silent Man : *If you are wise, you are a Fool ; if you are a Fool, you are wise.*

Con.

SILENCE, like a kind of Sleep, refreshes and nourishes Wisdom.

SILENCE is the Fermentation of our Thoughts.

SILENCE is the Candidate of Truth.

Diffimulation. XXXII.

Pro.

DISSIMULATION is a Compensious Wisdom.

NAKEDNESS even in the Mind is uncomely.

DISSIMULATION is both a Grace and a Guard.

DIS-

Con.

THOUGH we are not able to Think according to the Truth of things ; yet at least let us speak according to our Thoughts.

THOSE that have not a Capacity for the Arts of State, make Use of Diffimulation instead of Wisdom.

Pro.

DISSIMULATION is the Fence of Counfels.

HE that carries all things with an undissembled Openness, equally deceives: For many either do not take him, or do not believe him.

OPEN Dealing is nothing but a Weakness of Mind.

*Boldness.**Pro.*

WHAT Action is to an Orator, the same is Boldness to a Politician; the First, the Second, the Third.

Con.

THE Dissembler deprives himself of the principal Instrument for Action; which is, Belief.

DISSIMULATION invites Diffimulation.

THE Dissembler is a Slave.

XXXIII.*Con.*

IMPUDENCE is good for nothing, but Imposture.

CONFIDENCE is the Fool's Empress, and the Wise Man's Buffoon.

Cere-

Ceremonies, Punctoes, Affectation. XXXIV.

Pro.

A decent Management of Countenance and Gesture, is the true Seasoning of Virtue.

HE that does not keep a Decorum in small Matters, and in his daily Customs, though he be a great Man, yet be assured, that such a Person is wise only at certain Hours.

VIRTUE and Wisdom without Punctoes, are like Foreign Languages; for they are commonly not understood.

Con.

WHAT can be a more deform'd Spectacle, than to transfer the Stage into Life?

BETTER a Painted Face, and Curled Hair, than a Painted and Curled Behaviour.

HE that breaks his Mind to such small Observances, can never be capable of great Thoughts.

AFFECTATION is the shining Putrefaction of Gentility.

Jests. XXXV.

Pro.

A Jest is the Altar
of Orators.

HE that mingles a
modest Facetiousness
in all his Discourse,
retains Liberty of
Mind.

IT is a thing more
Politick than a Man
would imagine; ea-
sily to pass from Jest
to Earnest, and from
Earnest to Jest.

A Jest is many
times a Vehicle of
Truth, which other-
wise would not arrive.

Con.

THOSE Hunters
of Deformities and
Concinnities, what
Man would not de-
spise?

TO flur off Busi-
ness of Importance
with a Jest, is a wick-
ed Artifice.

THEN judge of
a Jest, when you have
done laughing.

YOUR merry fa-
cetious Men seldom
penetrate farther than
the Superficies of
Things; which is
the very Seat of a
Jest.

Love.

Love. XXXVI.

Pro.

DO you not see that all Men seek themselves? But the Lover only finds himself.

THERE is no better Ordering of the Mind, than from the Power of some predominant Affection.

HE that is wise, let him look out for some Desire; for he that does not affect some one thing more than ordinary, to him all things are distasteful and tedious.

Con.

THE Stage is much beholden to Love, Life not at all.

I hate those Monophrontists.

LOVE is a very narrow Contemplation.

Friend.

Friendship. XXXVII.

Pro.

FRIENDSHIP
does the same things
that Fortitude doth,
but more sweetly.

FRIENDSHIP
is a pleasant Sauce
to all good things.

IT is the worst
sort of Solitude, to
be destitute of true
Friends.

IT is a just Pu-
nishment of False-
heartedness, to be de-
prived of Friends.

Con.

HE that contracts
strict Leagues of
Friendship, imposes
upon himself new
Bonds and Engage-
ments,

Flattery.

Flattery. XXXVIII.

Pro.

FLATTERY proceeds more from Custom, than Malice.

BY Praising to Instruct, was ever a Form due to great Persons.

Con.

FLATTERY is the Cement of Vices.

FLATTERY is that Kind of Fowling, which deceives Birds by Resemblance of Voice.

THE Deformity of Flattery is Comical, the Damage Tragical.

Revenge. XXXIX.

Pro.

PRIVATE Revenge is a Kind of wild Justice.

HE that returns Wrong for Wrong, offends against the Law

Con.

HE that does a Wrong, is the Beginner of a Quarrel; but he that Retaliates, takes away all Means of ending it.

RE-

Pro.

Con.

Law only, not the Person.

THE Fear of private Revenge is useful; for Laws too often sleep.

REVENGE, by how much the more natural, by so much the more is it to be repress'd.

HE that is apt to return an Injury, is behind-hand perhaps in Time, not in Will.

Innovation. XL.

Pro.

Con.

EVERY Medicine is an Innovation.

HE that flies new Remedies, must expect new Diseases.

TIME is the greatest Innovator: Why then may we not imitate Time?

SEEING things of themselves change to the

NEW Births are deformed Things.

ALL Novelty is injurious; for it destroys the present Things.

THOSE Things which have obtained by Use, if they are not good, at least they are conformable and agree well together.

WHAT

Pro.

Con.

the worse, if they be not by Counsel changed to the better, what will be the End of Evil?

WHAT Innovator imitates Time; which insinuates Innovations in such manner, that they are not perceiv'd?

A morose Retention of Customs, is as turbulent a thing as Innovation.

Delay. XLI.

Pro.

Con.

FORTUNE sells many things to the Hasty, which she gives to the Slow.

OCCASION offers the Handle of the Bottle first, then the Belly.

WHILST we are in haste to embrace the Beginnings of things, we clasp Shadows.

OCCASION, like *Sibylla*, diminishes the thing offered, and then encreases the Price.

THE Beginnings of Actions should be
com-

Pro.

mitted to *Argus*, the
Ends to *Briarcus*.

Preparation. XLII.

Pro.

WITH slender Pro-
vision we buy Wit,
not Fortune.

Con.

LET no Man think
to fetter Fortune by
his Preparation.

GREAT Prepara-
tion is a Prodigal both
of Time and Business.

To withstand Beginnings. XLIII.

Pro.

IT is less Trouble
to prevent a Danger,
than to observe and
watch the Progress of
it.

Con.

HE teaches a Dan-
ger to advance, who
buckles against it, and
fixes it by a Remedy.

A Danger is no
more light, if it seem
light.

Violent

Violent Counsels. XLIV.

Pro.

Con.

THAT Necessity which resolves upon violent Measures, commonly goes through with them.

EVERY violent Remedy is pregnant of a new Evil.

NONE gives violent Counsels, but Anger and Fear.

Suspicion. XLV.

Pro.

Con.

THAT Man's Integrity is justly suspected, which Suspicion weakens.

SUSPICION breaks the Bond of Faith.

The Words of Law. XLVI.

Pro.

Con.

IT is no Exposition, but a Divination, which recedes from the Letter.

OUT of all the Words such a Sense is to be drawn out, as may expound the particular Words.

WHERE

Pro.

WHERE there is a Departure from the Letter, the Judge of an Interpreter becomes a Law-giver.

For Witnesses against Arguments. XLVII.

Pro.

HE that relies upon Arguments, pronounces according to the Pleader, not according to the Cause.

Con.

IF Witnesses are to be believ'd against Proofs from Reason, it is sufficient for the Judge only not to be Deaf.

ARGUMENTS are an Antidote against the Poyson of Testimonies.

AND these *Antitheta* (which we have propounded) are perhaps not very valuable; however, as they were prepared and collected by us long ago, we were loth the Diligence of our Youth should perish; especially since they are (if a Man consider well) *Seeds*, not *Flowers*.

Flowers. But herein they plainly breath Youth, in that they abound in the *Moral*, or *Demonstrative* Kind; and are so thin and sparing in the *Deliberative* and *Judicial*.

Formulae Minores.

A Third Collection which pertains to *Provision*, or *Preparatory Store*, is that which we think fit to call *Formulae Minores*, *Lesser Forms* or *Stiles of Speech*. And these are as it were the Porches, the Postern-Doors, the Ante-Rooms, the Back-Rooms, the Passages, &c. of Speech; which may indifferently serve for all Subjects; As *Preface*, *Conclusion*, *Digression*, *Transition*, *Excusation*, &c. For as in Buildings there is great Pleasure and Use in the well-casting of the Frontispieces, Stair-Cases, Doors, Windows, Entries, Passages, and the like; so in Speech, the Conveyances and Passages (if they be decently and skilfully contrived and placed) are of special Ornament and Effect to the whole Structure. Of these *Formulae* we will propose an Example or two, and stay no longer upon them. For though they be Matters of no small Use, yet because we add nothing herein of our own, but transcribe the naked Forms only, out of *Demosthenes*, or *Cicero*, or some other select Author,

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they seem too mean a Business to waste Time upon.

Examples of Minor Forms.

A Conclusion of a deliberative Speech.

“ SO we may both redeem the Faults
“ past, and with one and the same Trouble
“ prevent the Inconveniences future.

The Corollary of an accurate Partition.

“ THAT all may see, that I intended
“ not to balk any thing by Silence, or to
“ cloud any thing by Words.

A Transition with a Caveat.

“ BUT let us so pass by these things, as
“ to leave them with a Retrospect how-
“ ever.

*A Preoccupation against an inveterate
Opinion.*

“ I shall so order the Matter, as that you
“ may understand in the whole Cause, what
“ the Nature of the thing suggested, what
“ Mistake hath added, and what Envy hath
“ raised.

C H A P. XXIII.

Of Critical and Pedantical Knowledge.

De Augmentis Scientiarum.

Lib. 6. Cap. 4.



HERE remain two General Appendages touching the Tradition of Knowledge; The one *Critical*; The other *Pedantical*. For as the principal Part of Tradition of Knowledge consists in Writing of Books; so the Relative Part thereof consists in Reading of Books: Now Reading is governed and directed by Masters and Teachers, or perfected by every Man's particular Industry; And to this purpose serve the two Knowledges
men-

mentioned, whereunto appertain incidently these Considerations.

TO the *Critical* Part appertain, First an exact Correction, and true Edition of approved Authors; whereby both the Honour of Authors themselves is vindicated, and a Light given to the Studious. Wherein, nevertheless, the rash Diligence of some Men hath done great Prejudice to Studies. For it is the Manner of many Criticks, when they meet with a Passage they do not understand, presently to presume it a Fault in the Copy; As the Priest, that, where he found it written of St. Paul, *Demissus est per Sportam*, mended his Book, and made it, *Demissus est per Portam*, because *Sporta* was an hard Word, and out of his Reading; and surely their Errors, tho' they are not so palpable and ridiculous, yet are of the same Kind; as in that Passage of *Tacitus*: When a certain Colony claim'd the *Privilege of the Sanctuary* in the Senate, *Tacitus* reports, that what they alledg'd was not favourably receiv'd by the Emperor and the Senate: Upon which the Embassadors distrusting their Cause, gave *Titus Vinius* a round Sum of Money to maintain their Suit; and by this means the Thing was granted. Then (says *Tacitus*) the *Dignity and Antiquity of the Colony prevailed*: As if the Arguments, that seem'd light before, receiv'd then a new Weight by the Addition of a Bribe. Here a

certain Critick, none of the meanest, expunges the Word *Tum*, and instead thereof restores *Tantum*. And by this perverse Custom of Criticks, it hath come to pass, (as one wisely noted) *That the most Corrected Copies are commonly least Correct.* And indeed, to speak Truth, unless the Criticks be well skill'd in the Knowledges handled in the Books they put out, their Diligence is not without Danger.

SECONDLY, There belong to the *Critical Art*, the *Interpretation* and *Exposition* of *Authors*, *Commentaries*, *Scholia's*, *Notes*, *Spicilegies*, and the like. And in Labours of this Kind, that scurvy (as I may call it) Disease of Criticks hath seiz'd many, of passing over most of the obscurer Passages, and dwelling and expatiating even to Nauseousness upon things that are plain and perspicuous. For the thing intended is not so much to illustrate the Author, as that the Critick himself upon every Occasion may shew his manifold Learning, and various Reading. It were much to be wish'd, that the Writer that handles obscure and noble Arguments, would annex his own Explications; that neither the Text itself may be broken off by Digressions or Explanation; and that the Notes may not depart from the Mind and Intention of the Writer. Some such thing we suspect of *Theon* upon *Euclid*.

THE

THE Third is concerning the Times, which in many Cases give great Light to true Interpretations.

THE Fourth is concerning the Syntax and Disposition of Studies, that Men may know in what Order or Pursuit to Read.

FIFTHLY, It belongs to the Art *Critical* (from whence also it had its Name) to interpose some brief Censure and Judgment of the Authors they publish; and to compare them with other Writers that handle the same Subjects; to the end that by such a Censure Students may be both advertis'd of the Choice of Books, and come better provided to the Perusal of them. And this last Part is as it were the Chair of the *Criticks*, which certainly has been ennobled by some Great Men in our Age, Greater surely in my Judgment, than for the Model of *Criticks*.

FOR *Pedantical* Knowledge, it contains that Difference of *Tradition*, which is proper for Youth: In which Point it were soon said, *Consult the Schools of the Jesuits*; for nothing that has come into Use and Practice, can be better than they are. However, we will, according to our Fashion, suggest a few Things after the Manner of Gleaners. We do by all means approve a Collegiate Education of

Childhood and Youth ; not in private Houses ; not under Schoolmasters only. In Colleges there is a greater Emulation towards their Equals ; besides, there's the Countenance and Aspect of Grave Men, which very thing contributes to Modesty, and fashions tender Minds even from the Beginning to a Pattern : In fine, there are Advantages in abundance of a Collegiate Education.

FOR the Order and Manner of Discipline, this I would principally advise ; that they beware of Abridgments, and too great Forwarding in Learning, which renders Wits bold and confident ; and makes rather a Shew of great Proficiency, than effects it.

FURTHERMORE, some Indulgence should be given to the Liberty of Wits, so that if any one performs the Tasks which the Discipline of the Place requires, and yet steals Time for other things, to which he is inclined, he may not be restrain'd.

AGAIN, It may be worth while carefully to consider (which perchance hitherto hath not been noted) that there are two ways, and those as it were diametrically opposite, of training up, and exercising, and preparing Wits. The one begins with the easiest things, and by degrees leads to the more difficult ; the other at first commands and presses the
more

more difficult, that these being master'd, he may go through the easier with the more Delight. For it is one Method to learn to Swim with Bladders, which hold up, and another to learn to Dance with heavy Shooes, which press down. And it is not easy to express, how much a prudent Intermixture of these Methods conduces to the advancing the Faculties both of Mind and Body.

ANOTHER Consideration is the Application of Learning according to the Propriety of the Wits; for there is no Defect in the Faculties Intellectual, but seemeth to have a proper Cure contained in some Studies: As for Example, If a Child be Bird-witted, that is, hath not the Faculty of Attention, the Mathematiques give a Remedy thereunto; for in them, if the Wit be caught away but a Moment, one is to begin a-new. And as Sciences have a Propriety towards Faculties for Cure and Help; so Faculties or Powers have a Sympathy towards Sciences for Excellency or speedy Profiting: And therefore it is an Enquiry of great Wisdom, what Kinds of Wits and Natures are most apt and proper for what Sciences.

FURTHERMORE, in the Course of Teaching, *Exercises* have a mighty Stroke to Hurt or Help. But there is a Point here that hath been noted by few; which is, that there

there ought to be not only a wise Ordering of *Exercises*, but a wise Intermision of them also. For *Cicero* hath an excellent Observation, *That in Exercises, it often happens that Men exercise their Faults as well as their Faculties*; so that an ill Habit is sometimes got at the same Time, and insinuates it self together with a good one. Wherefore it is a safer Way to intermit *Exercises*, and to repeat them every foot, than incessantly to continue and pursue them.

IT were too long to particularize a Number of other Considerations of this Nature, Things but of mean Appearance, but of singular Efficacy. For as in Plants, the Wronging or Cherishing of them while they are young, is a Matter of the greatest Importance towards their Thriving or Miscarrying; and as the immense Greatness of the *Roman Empire* is by some deservedly attributed to the Virtue and Wisdom of those Six Kings, that were as Tutors or Foster-Fathers to it in its Infancy: So surely the Culture and Manuring of Minds in Youth hath such a forcible (though unseen) Operation, as hardly any Length of Time, or Contention of Labour can countervail afterwards. And it is not amiss to observe also, that even small and mean Faculties, if they fall into great Men or great Matters, do work great and important Effects. Of this we will set down a memorable Example;

Example; Which we bring the rather, because the *Jesuits* themselves seem not to despise this Kind of Discipline; and upon sound Judgment, (in my Opinion.) And it is a matter, which, if it be made a Trade, is disreputable; if a Part of Discipline, excellent. We mean *Theatrical Action*; as that which Strengthens the Memory; Moderates the Tone and Emphasis of the Voice and Pronunciation; Composes the Countenance and Carriage to a Decorum; Gives a good Assurance; And, in fine, inures Youth to the Faces of Men. The Example shall be from *Tacitus*, of one *Vibulenus*, formerly an Actor, but at that Time a Soldier in the *Pannonian* Legions. This Fellow, upon the Death of *Augustus*, had raised a Mutiny, so that *Blæsus*, the Lieutenant, committed some of the Mutineers. But the Soldiers by Violence broke open the Prisons and rescued them: Whereupon *Vibulenus* got to be heard, and began his Harangue to the Soldiers in this Manner: *To these poor innocent Wretches you have restored indeed Light and Life: But who restores Life to my Brother; who, my Brother to me? That was sent unto you in Message from the German Army, to treat of the Common Cause, and he hath murder'd him this last Night by some of his Fencers and Ruffians, that he has about him ready arm'd for his Executioners upon Soldiers. Answer Blæsus, where have you thrown his Body? The mortallest Enemies*

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mies do not grudge Burial. When I have glutted my Grief with Kissing, and Weeping over the Corpse, command me also to be murder'd; so that these our Fellow-Soldiers have Leave to bury us, slain for no Offence, but for our good Meaning, and our true Hearts to the Legions. With which Speech he put the Army into an infinite Fury and Uproar; to the Degree, that unless it had soon after appeared, that there was no Truth in this, and that he never had a Brother, the Soldiers would have gone near to have laid violent Hands upon the Lieutenant. But it was mere Acting in him, as if he had plaid a Part upon the Stage.

C H A P. XXIV.

Of Moral Knowledge.

The Division of *Moral Knowledge* into the Doctrine of Exemplar, or Platform ; and into the Georgicks or Culture of the Mind. The Division of the Platform (namely, of Good) into Good Simple ; into Good Individual ; and Good of Communion.

De Augmentis Scientiarum.

Lib. 7. Cap. 1.



WE are now come to *Moral Knowledge*, which considers and handles the *Will* of Man. Right Reason governs the Will, Good Apparent seduces it ; The Spurs of the Will are the Affections ; Her Ministers, the Organs and Voluntary Motions. Of this Faculty

Faculty Solomon saith, *Above all Keepings, keep thy Heart*; for out of it issue the *Actions of Life*, Prov. iv. 23. In handling this Science, they that have written of it, seem to me to have done as if a Man that professed to teach to write, should only exhibit fair Copies of *Alphabets*, and Letters joined, without giving any Precepts or Directions for the Carriage of the Hand, and framing of the Letters. So have they propounded unto us goodly and fair Exemplars and Copies, and accurate Draughts or Portraitures of *Good, Virtue, Duty, Felicity*, as the true Objects and Scopes of Man's Will and Desires: But how to take a just Level at these Marks (excellent indeed, and by them well-placed) that is, by what Methods and Directions the Mind may be subdued and framed to become true and conformable to these Pursuits; this they either pass over altogether, or perform it slightly, and unprofitably. For it is not the Disputing, That Moral Virtues are in the Mind of Man by Habit, and not by Nature; or formally distinguishing, That generous Spirits are won by Doctrines and Persuasions, and the Vulgar Sort by Reward and Punishment; Or the witty Precept, that to rectify the Mind of Man, it must like a Staff be bowed the contrary way to its Inclination; and the like scattered Glances and Touches, that can excuse the Absence of this Part.

THE Reason of this Omission I suppose to be no other, than that hidden Rock, whereupon both this and many other Barks of Knowledge have been cast away; which is, that Writers despise to be conversant in ordinary and common Matters; which are neither subtle enough for Disputation, nor flourishing enough for Ornament. Verily it cannot easily be express'd, what a Calamity this very Thing we speak of hath brought upon Sciences; That Men, out of an inbred Pride and Vain-Glory, have made Choice of such Subjects, and of such a Method and Manner of handling them, as may set off their Wit rather, than conduce to the Reader's Profit. But here *Seneca* gives an excellent Check, *Nocet illis eloquentia, quibus non rerum cupiditatem facit, sed sui*; Doctrines should be such as should make Men in Love with the Lesson, and not with the Teacher, being directed to the Auditor's Benefit, and not to the Author's Commendation. Therefore they take a right Course, who can vouch that of their Counsels, which *Demosthenes* did, and conclude them with this Clause; *Which Things if you put in Execution, you will not only commend your Orator at present, but your selves likewise, not long after, by Reason of a more prosperous Estate of your Affairs.*

FOR

FOR my own Part (to speak Truth of my self) both in the Works I now publish, and in those I think of hereafter, I have often wittingly and willingly thrown up the Glory of my own Wit and Name, (if any such there be) whilst I study to advance the Good and Profit of Mankind: And I that have merited to be an *Architect* perhaps in Philosophy and the Sciences, am made even a Labourer and a Drudge, and any Thing in short; whilst I sustain and execute my self many Things, which must of Necessity be done, but which others from an innate Pride shift off from themselves. But (to return to the matter in hand;) as I was saying, Philosophers in Moral Science have chosen to themselves a certain resplendent and illustrious Mass of Matter, to give Glory either to the Subtilty of their Wit, or to the Vigor of their Eloquence. But such Precepts as direct Practice chiefly, (and Life consists not in Novelties or Subtleties) they have for the most part omitted.

NEITHER needed Men of so excellent Parts to have despaired of a Fortune like unto that which the Poet *Virgil* promised himself, and indeed obtain'd; who got as much Glory of Eloquence, Wit, and Learning in the expressing his Observations of Husbandry, as in relating the Heroical Acts of *Aeneas*.

*Nec sum animi dubius verbis ea vincere magnum
Quam sit, & angustis hunc addere rebus hono-
rem.* Georg. 3. 289.

Nor can I doubt what Oyl I must bestow
To raise my Subject from a Ground so low:
And the mean Matter which my Theme af-
fords
To embellish with Magnificence of Words.

Dryden.

AND surely if Men meant in good ear-
nest, not to write at leisure, that which
Men may read at leisure, but really to
Instruct, and be Assisting to Active Life;
these *Georgicks*, that is, this Husbandry and
Tillage of the Mind of Man, ought to be in as
much Esteem with Men, as those Heroical
Descriptions of *Virtue*, *Good*, and *Felicity*,
whereon so much Labour and Cost hath been
bestowed.

WE will therefore divide *Moral Philoso-*
phy into two main and principal Doctrines;
The One concerning the *Exemplar* or *Image*
of *Good*; The Other concerning the *Regi-*
ment or *Culture* of the *Mind*, which Part we
are wont to call *the Georgicks of the Mind*:
That describes the Nature of *Good*: This pre-
scribes Rules how to subdue, apply, and ac-
commodate the Will of Man thereunto.

THE Doctrine touching the *Exemplar*, (which respects and describes the *Nature of Good*) considers *Good*, either *Simple*, or *Compared*; either (I say) the *Kinds of Good*, or the *Degrees of Good*. In the latter of these, those infinite *Disputations*, and *Speculations* touching the *Supreme Degree of Good*, which they term'd *Felicity*, *Beatitude*, or the *Highest Good*, (the *Doctrines* concerning which were as it were the *Heathen Divinity*) are by the *Christian Faith* taken away and discharg'd. For as *Aristotle* saith, *That Young Men may be Happy, but no otherwise than by Hope*; So must we all, being so taught by the *Christian Faith*, acknowledge our selves to be but *Children and Minors*, and think of no other *Felicity*, than that which is in *Hope* of the future World.

FREED therefore and delivered (by *Happy Fate*) from that *Doctrine* touching the *Heathens Heaven* as it were; (In which *Particular* doubtless they attributed to *Man's Nature* a higher *Elevation* than it was capable of; for we see in what a *Height of Stile* *Seneca* writes; *It is truly great to have the Frailty of a Man, and the Security of a God*;) we may certainly with less *Loss of Sobriety and Truth* receive the rest of their *Enquiries and Labours* concerning the *Doctrine of the Exemplar or Platform*. For as concerning the *Nature*

ture of Positive and Simple Good, they have drawn it admirably, in describing the Forms of Virtue and Duty, with their Situations and Postures, in distributing them into their Kinds, Parts, Provinces, Actions, and Administrations, and the like; Nay further, they have commended them to Man's Nature and Spirit with great Quickness of Argument, and Beauty of Persuasion; yea, and fortified and entrench'd them (as much as Discourse can do) against corrupt and popular Opinions. Again, for the Degrees, and Comparative Nature of Good, they have excellently handled this also in their Triplicity of Good; In the Comparisons between a Contemplative and Active Life; In the Distinction between Virtue with Reluctancy, and Virtue secured and confirm'd; In their Encounters between Honesty and Profit; In their Ballancing of Virtue with Virtue, to see which out-weighs the other, and the like. So that this Part touching the Platform I find excellently labour'd, and that the Antients herein have shewed themselves admirable Men: Yet so, that the Philosophers have been far out-gone by the pious and painful Diligence of Divines, in weighing and determining, Duties, and Moral Virtues, and Cases of Conscience, and the Bounds and Limits of Sin.

NOTWITHSTANDING, (to return to the Philosophers) if before they had come to the popular and receiv'd Notions of *Virtue* and *Vice*, *Pleasure*, and *Pain*, and the rest, they had staid a little longer upon the Enquiry concerning the Roots of Good and Evil, and the Strings of those Roots, they had given, in my Opinion, a great Light to all that which might fall into Enquiry afterwards: Above all, if they had consulted as well the Nature of Things, as the Axioms of Morality, they had made their Doctrines less prolix, and more profound; which being by them in part omitted, and in part handled with much Confusion, we will briefly re-examin, and endeavour to open and clear the very Springs of Morality; before we come to the Doctrine of the *Culture of the Mind*, which we set down as *Deficient*. For this (in my Judgment) will give the Doctrine of the *Platform* a Kind of new Life and Spirit.

THERE is inbred, and imprinted upon every Thing an Appetite to a double Nature of Good: The One, as a Thing is a *Total in it self*; the Other, as it is a *Part or Member of some greater Total*. And this Latter is worthier and more excellent than that Other, because it tends to the Conservation of a more ample Body. The First may be called *Individual or Self-Good*; The Latter the Good of *Communion*. The Iron in particular Sympa-
thy

thy moves to the Loadstone : But yet if it exceed a certain Quantity, it forsakes the Affection to the *Loadstone*, and like a good Citizen and true Patriot, moves to the *Earth*, the Region and Country of its Connaturals. To proceed a little further ; *Water* and *Massie Bodies* move to the Center of the *Earth*, to the great Congregation of *close-compacted Bodies* ; yet rather than to suffer a Divulsion in the Continuance of Nature, and that there should be (as they talk) a *Vacuum* ; These Bodies will move upwards from the Center of the *Earth*, forsaking their Duty to the *Earth*, that they may perform the general Duty they owe to the *World* : So is it ever seen that the Conservation of the more general and publick *Form*, commands and governs the lesser and more particular Appetites and Inclinations. But this Prerogative of the *Good of Communion*, is especially engraven upon Man, if he degenerate not, according to that memorable Speech of *Pompey the Great* ; who, being commission'd for the Importation of Corn, when there was a Famine at *Rome*, and being dissuaded with great Vehemence by his Friends, that he would not hazard himself to Sea, in Extremity of Weather, made this Answer only, *There is a Necessity for my Going, but no Necessity for my Living*. So that the Desire of Life (which in every Individual is so predominant) did not out-balance in him the Love and Allegiance to the Republick. But why do we

dwell upon this Point? There was never found in any Age of the World, either Philosophy, or Sect, or Religion, or Law, or Discipline, which did so highly exalt the Good of Communion, and depress Good Private and Particular, as the Holy Christian Faith; Whence it clearly appears that it was one and the same God that gave the Christian Law to Men, who gave those Laws of Nature to the Creatures. Wherefore we read that some of the Elect Saints have wish'd themselves anathematiz'd and raz'd out of the Book of Life, rather than their Brethren should not attain Salvation, in an Extasy of Charity, and an infinite Desire of the Good of Communion. *Rom. ix.*

THIS being laid down as an immoveable unshaken Position, puts an End to some of the weightiest Controversies in Moral Philosophy. For first it determines that Question concerning the Preference of the Contemplative to the Active Life; and that against the Opinion of *Aristotle*. For all the Reasons which he brings for the Contemplative Life, respect private Good, and the Pleasure and Dignity of a Man's self only; in which Respects, no question the Contemplative Life hath the Preheminence. For the Contemplative Life is not much unlike that Comparison which *Pythagoras* made for the Gracing and Magnifying of Philosophy and Contemplation; Who being ask'd by *Hiero*, what he was; Answered; *That Hiero knew well* (if
be

be had ever been at the Olympian Games) that the Manner there is, that some come to try their Fortunes for the Prizes; Others, as Merchants to vend their Commodities; and Some to meet their Friends, and to make good Chear, and be merry; and Others came to look on: And that he was one of them that came to look on. But Men should know, that in this Theater of Human Life, it is fit only for God and Angels to be *Lookers on*. Neither surely could it have been, that any Doubt, touching this Point, should ever have been rais'd in the Church; (Howsoever that Saying has been frequent in many Men's Mouths, *Precious in the Eyes of the Lord is the Death of his Saints*; from which Passage, they are wont to exalt that Civil Death of theirs, and the Laws of a Monastick and Regular Course of Life;) but upon this Supposition, that the Monastick Life is not simply Contemplative; but is altogether conversant in Ecclesiastical Duties; as Incessant Prayer; Sacrifices of Vows offer'd to God; the Writing also (in so much Leisure) Theological Books, for the Propagating the Doctrine of the Divine Law; as *Moses* did, when he abode so many Days in his Retirement upon the Mount. And so *Enoch*, the Seventh from *Adam*, who seems to have been the first Founder of the Contemplative Life, (for he is said to have walked with God) yet endowed the Church with a Book of Prophecy, which

is also cited by *St. Jude*. But for mere Contemplation, terminated in it self, and which casteth no Beams of Heat or Light upon Human Society; assuredly Divinity knows it not.

IT decides also the Question, controverted with such Heat, between the Schools of *Zeno* and *Socrates*, on the one Side; who placed Felicity in Virtue, either Simple, or Adorn'd with other Goods (which Virtue has always had a principal Share in the Duties of Life :) and several other Sects and Schools, on the other side, as the Schools of the *Cyrenaicks* and *Epicureans*, who placed it in Pleasure; and made Virtue (as it happens in some Comedies, where the Mistress and the Maid change Cloaths) to be but as an Hand-maid; without which Pleasure could not be well serv'd and waited upon; as also that other, as it were, *Reform'd* School of *Epicurus*, which asserted Felicity to be nothing else but a Tranquillity and Serenity of Mind, free and void of all Perturbations; as tho' they were minded to dethrone *Jupiter*, and restore *Saturn* with the Golden Age, when there was no Summer, nor Winter, nor Spring, nor Autumn, but all after one even Air and Season; Lastly, the exploded School also of *Pyrrho* and *Herillus*, who placed Felicity in an utter Extinction and Exemption of all Scruples and Disputes of Mind, making no fix'd and constant

stant Nature of Good or Evil, but esteeming Actions Good or Evil, according as they proceeded from the Mind, with a clear and undisturbed Motion, or contrariwise, with Averſation and Reluctance; Which Opinion, notwithstanding, hath revived in the Heresy of the *Anabaptists*; who measured all Things according to the Motions and Instincts of the Spirit, and the Constancy or Wavering of Belief. But it is manifest, that all this that we have recited, tends to private Repose and Complacency of Mind, and no way to *Society*, and the *Good of Communion*.

AGAIN, it censures also the Philosophy of *Epictetus*, who presupposes this, That Felicity must be placed in those Things, which are in our own Power; least otherwise we should be liable to Fortune and Accidents; as tho' it were not a Thing much more happy, to fail of Success, and to be frustrated, in worthy and generous Intentions and Ends for a Publick Good, than always to have our Wish, in all Things relating to our own Private Fortune only. As *Consalvo*, shewing his Soldiers *Naples*, bravely protested, *That he had much rather run himself upon certain Ruin, by setting one Foot forward, than prolong his Life for many Years, by retreating one Foot backward*. Whereunto the Wisdom of that Heavenly Philosopher also hath signed, who pronounced, *That a good Conscience is a*
continual

continual Feast; plainly signifying, That the Conscience of good Intentions, however unsuccessful, affords more solid and sincere Joy, and to Nature more agreeable; than all that Provision, wherewith Man can be furnish'd, either for the Fruition of his Desires, or the Rest and Repose of his Mind.

IT censures likewise that Abuse of Philosophy, which grew general about the Time of *Epictetus*. Which was, that Philosophy was converted into a Professory Kind of Life, and as it were into an Art; as if the Purpose of Philosophy was, not to repress and extinguish Perturbations; but to shun, and keep at a Distance, the Causes and Occasions of them; and therefore a particular Kind and Course of Life were to be shaped to that end: Introducing indeed such a Health of Mind, as was that of Body in *Herodicus*, which *Aristotle* speaks of; That he did nothing all his Life long, but intend his Health; and therefore abstain'd from an infinite Number of Things, being in the mean Time amerc'd as it were the Use of his Body: Whereas if the Duties of Society were the Delight of a Man's Soul, that Health of Body, when all is done, is principally to be desired, which is ablest to bear and overcome all Alterations, and whatsoever Shocks: So likewise, that Mind only, is to be reckoned truly and properly sound and strong, that can break thro' the most and greatest Temptations

tations and Perturbations. So that *Diogenes* seems to have spoken excellently well; who commended such Strength and Powers of Mind, as were able not warily to *Abstain*, but bravely to *Sustain*: And which can restrain and check the Sallies of the Soul, even in the greatest Precipices; and can do what is commended in well-managed Horses, that is, stop and turn in the narrowest Compass.

LASTLY; It censures a certain Tender-ness, and Want of Complaisance, and obsequious Application, noted in some of the most Antient and Reverend Philosophers; who withdrew too easily from Civil Business, for avoiding Indignities and Perturbations, and that they might live, in their Opinion, more unstained, and as it were sanctified Persons: Whereas the Resolution of a Man truly Moral ought to be such, as the same *Consalvo* required in a Military Man; viz. That his Honour should be woven *è Tela crassiore*, of a Home-spun courser Thread; and not so fine, as that every Thing should catch in it, and tear it.

CHAP. XXV.

The Division of Particular, or Private Good, into Good Active, and Good Passive. The Division of Good Passive into Conservative Good, and Good Perfective. The Division of the Good of Communion, into Duties General, and Respective.

De Augmentis Scientiarum.

Lib. 7. Cap. 2.



HEREFORE let us now resume and prosecute; First, *Private and Particular Good*. This we will divide into *Good Active*, and *Good Passive*. For this Difference of *Good* also (not unlike surely to those Appellations, which were familiar amongst the Romans

Romans in their OEconomicks of (a) *Promus* and (b) *Condus*) is found deeply engraved upon the Universal Nature of Things; and is best disclosed in the two several Appetites in Creatures; The One to *Preserve* and *Fortify* themselves; The Other to *Multiply* and *Dilate* themselves; whereof the Latter, which is *Active*, and the *Promus* as it were, seems to be the stronger and worthier; and the Former, which is *Passive*, and the *Condus* as it were, may well be judg'd as the Inferior. For in Nature, the Heavens, which are the more worthy, are the *Agent*; and the Earth, which is the less worthy, is the *Patient*. In the Pleasures of living Creatures, that of Generation is greater than that of Food. In Divine Doctrine, *It is more blessed to give than to receive*; Acts xx. 35. And in common Life too, there is no Man's Spirit so soft and effeminate, but he esteems the effecting of something that he hath fixed in his Desire, more than any Sensuality or Pleasure. And this Priority of *Active Good* is hugely exalted from the Consideration of our Estate, being mortal and exposed to the Stroke of Fortune. For if we might have a Perpetuity and Certainty in our Pleasures, the Price of them would be ad-

(a) One that deliver'd out Provisions.

(b) One that stored up Provisions.

vanced upon the Account of their Security and Continuance. (But when we see it is but *Magni aestimamus, &c.* we set a great Value upon dying a little later; And, Boast not of to Morrow: Thou knowest not what a Day may bring forth; It makes us desire to have something secured and exempted from Time, which can be only our Deeds, as it is said, *Their Works follow them; Apoc. 14.*

THE Preheminence likewise of this Active Good is upheld by the Affection which is natural in Man towards Variety and Proceeding, which Affection in the Pleasures of the Sense (which is the principal Part of Passive Good) can have no great Latitude. Do but think (says Seneca) how often you have done the same Things; Meat, Sleep, Diversion; We run round in this Circle; not only a Brave, or a Miserable, or a Wise Man, but a nice fastidious Person would wish to die. But in the Enterprizes, Pursuits, and Purposes of Life, there is much Variety; whereof Men are sensible with great Pleasure, in their Inceptions, Progressions, Recoils in order to renew their Forces, Approaches, Attainings of their Ends; and the like: So that it was well and truly said; *A Life that proposes no End to pursue, is a faint, sickly, vagrant Thing.* Which indifferently befalls the Wise and Unwise, as Solomon saith; *A light-brain'd Man seeks to satisfy his Fancy, and intermixes himself with*
all

all Things; Prov. xviii. 1. Nay, we see that the greatest Princes, that have have had at Command whatever could delight the Senses, have nevertheless made themselves Desires, and set their Hearts upon Toys: Sometimes upon a Building; Sometimes upon the advancing of a Person; Sometimes upon obtaining Excellency in some Art, or Feat of the Hand; As Nero for playing upon the Harp; Domitian for Certainty of the Hand with the Arrow; Commodus for Fencing; Caracalla for Driving Chariots, and the like: Which to them were more acceptable than all the Affluence of sensual Pleasures, from this Principle; That the Mind of Man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small Things, than by standing at a stay in great.

THIS in the mean Time should be well noted, That this *Active Good* hath no Identity with the *Good of Society*, though in some Cases it hath an Incidence into it. For although it does many Times bring forth Acts of *Beneficence*, yet it is with a Respect private to a Man's own Power, Glory, Amplification, Continuance; as appears plainly, when it lights upon a Subject, which is contrary to the *Good of Society*. For that Gigantick State of Mind, which possesses the Troublers of the World (such as was *Lucius Sylla*, and infinite others in smaller Model) who would have all Men Happy or Unhappy, as they are

are their Friends or Enemies, and would give Form to the World according to their own Humour, (which is the true *Theomacky*) pretends and aspires to *Active Good*, though it recedes farthest from *Good of Society*, which we have determined to be the greater.

TO resume *Passive Good*, we will subdivide it into *Good Conservative* and *Good Perfective*. For there is impressed upon every Thing a triple Desire or Appetite, in Respect of *Private or Particular Good*; *The First, Of Preserving or Continuing it self: The Second, Of Advancing and Perfecting it self: The Third, Of Multiplying or Extending it self.* But this last Appetite refers to *Active Good*, which we have handled already. There remain therefore only the two other *Goods* mentioned; whereof the *Perfective* excels. For to preserve a Thing in its natural State, is less than to advance the same to a higher Nature. For there are found through all Essences some nobler Natures to the Dignity and Excellency whereof inferior Natures do aspire, as to their Originals and Springs. So in Man,

Ignæus est ollis vigor & cælestis origo.

Æn. 6. 730.

Th' Ethereal Vigour is in all the same,
And ev'ry Soul is fill'd with equal Flame.

Dryden.

HIS

HIS Approach or Assumption to Divine or Angelical Nature is the Perfection of his Form; a depraved and preposterous Imitation of which *Perfective Good* is that which is the Tempest of Human Life, whilst Man upon the Instinct of an Advancement *Formal* and *Essential* is carried to seek an Advancement only *Local*. For as those who are sick and find no Remedy, tumble up and down and change Place, as if by a Remove *Local*, they could obtain a Remove *Internal*, and shift off their Disease: So is it in Ambition, that Men being possess'd and led away with a false Resemblance of exalting their *Nature*, purchase nothing else but an Eminence and Celsitude of *Place*. So then *Passive Good* is, as was said, either *Conservative* or *Perfective*.

TO resume the *Good of Conservation* or *Comfort*, which consists in the *Fruition* of that which is agreeable to our *Natures*, it seems to be the most pure and natural Good, yet is it the softest and lowest. And this also receiveth a Difference, which hath neither been well judged of, nor well enquired. For the *Good of Fruition* or *Delight*, is placed either in the *Sincereness* of the *Fruition*, or in the *Quickness* and *Vigor* of it; The One superinduced by the *Equality*: The Other by *Variety* and *Vicissitude*. The One having less Mixture of *Evil*: The Other, a more strong

and lively Impression of *Good*. Whether of these is the greater Good, is a Question controverted; But whether Man's Nature may not be capable of both, is a Question not enquired.

THE former Question being debated between *Socrates* and a *Sophist*, and *Socrates* placing Felicity in a constant *Peace and Tranquillity of Mind*; But the *Sophist* in this, *That a Man desire Much, and enjoy Much*: They fell from Arguments to ill Words; the *Sophist* saying, *That Socrates's Happiness was the Happiness of a Block, or a Stone*: *Socrates* on the other side, *That the Sophist's Happiness was the Happiness of one that had the Itch, who did nothing but itch and scratch*. And both these Opinions do not want their Supports. For to *Socrates* even the School of *Epicurus* it self assents, which denies not but Virtue contributes most to Happiness. And if so, most certain it is, *That there is more Use of Virtue, in quieting Perturbations, than in compassing Desires*. The *Sophist's* Opinion is favour'd something by this Assertion; *That the Compassing of Things desired, seems by Degrees to perfect Nature*; which tho' it should not in reality do, yet Motion, tho' in a Circle, has somewhat of a Shew of Progression.

BUT

BUT the second Question (that is, *Whether the Nature of Man may not at once retain both a Tranquillity of Mind, and the Vigor of Fruition*) decided the true Way, makes the former superfluous. For do we not often see that some Men are so framed and made by Nature, as to be extremely affected with Pleasures while they are present, and yet are not greatly troubled with the Loss or leaving of them? So that this same, *Not to use, that you may not desire; Not to desire, that you may not fear*; seems to be the Result of a poor diffident Spirit. And certainly most of the Doctrines of the Philosophers are more fearful and cautionary than the Nature of Things requireth. Thus have they encreased the Fear of Death, in offering to cure it. For when they would have a Man's whole Life to be but a Discipline or Preparation for Death, they must needs make Men think that it is a terrible Enemy, against which there is no End of preparing. Better saith the Poet,

*Qui spatium vitæ extremum inter munera ponat
Naturæ.——*

A Soul that can securely Death defy,
And count it Nature's Privilege to die.

Dryden.

SO have the Philosophers sought to make Men's Minds too uniform and harmonious, by not breaking and inuring them to contrary Motions and Extremes. The Reason whereof I suppose to be, because they themselves were Men dedicated to a private, free, and unapplied Course of Life. For, as we see, upon the Lute, or like Instrument, a *Ground*, tho' it be sweet, and have Shew of many Changes, yet breaketh not the Hand to such strange and hard Stops and Passages, as a *Set Song*, or *Voluntary*: Much after the same manner was the Diversity between a Philosophical and a Civil Life. And therefore Men are to imitate the Wisdom of Jewellers, who, if there be a Grain, or a Cloud, or an Ice which may be ground out, without taking too much of the Stone, they help it: But if it should lessen and abate the Stone too much, they will not meddle with it: So ought Men so to procure *Serenity*, as not to destroy *Magnanimity*. And thus much for *Particular* or *Self-Good*.

HAVING therefore spoken of *Self-good*, (which also we use to call *Good Particular*, *Private*, *Individual*) let us resume the *Good of Communion*, which respecteth *Society*. This commonly goes by the Name of *Duty*: Because the Term of *Duty* is more proper to a Mind well framed and composed towards others;

others; As the Term of *Virtue* is applied to a Mind well formed and composed within it self; though neither can a Man understand *Virtue* without some Relation to Society, nor *Duty* without an Inward Disposition. This Part may seem at first Sight to pertain to *Science Civil and Political*; but not, if it be well observ'd. For it concerneth the Regiment and Government of every Man, over himself, and not over others. And as in Architecture, it is one Thing to frame the Posts, Beams, and other Parts of an Edifice, and to prepare them for the Use of Building; and another Thing to fit and join the same Parts together. And as in Mechanicks, the Direction how to frame an Instrument or Engine, is not the same with the Manner of Erecting, Moving, and setting it on Work; (and yet nevertheless in expressing of the one, you incidently express the Aptness towards the other:) So the Doctrine of the Conjugation of Men in Society differs from that which makes them conformable, and well-affected to the Weal of such a Society.

THIS Part touching Duties is subdivided also into two Parts: The *Common Duty* of every Man, as a Man or Member of a State: The Other, the *Respective or Special Duty* of every Man in his Profession, Vocation, and Place. The First of these is extant and well-labour'd, as hath been said: The Second like-

wife we find disperſedly handled, tho' not digeſted into an entire Body of a *Science*: Which manner of diſperſed Writing in this Kind of Argument, I acknowledge to be beſt. For who can take upon him to write of the proper Duty, Virtue, Challenge, and Right, of every ſeveral Vocation, Profeſſion, and Place? For altho' ſometimes a Looker on may ſee more than a Gameſter; and there be a Proverb more arrogant than ſound, touching the Cenſure of the Vulgar as to the Actions of Princes, *That the Vale beſt diſcovereth the Hill*; yet there is little Doubt but that Men can write beſt, and moſt really and materially, in their own Profeſſion: And that the Writings of Speculative Men concerning Active Matter, ſeem to Men of Experience, little better than *Phormio's* Diſcourſes of the Wars ſeemed to *Hannibal*, who eſteemed them Dreams and Dotage. Only there is one Vice which accompanies them that write in their own Profeſſion, that they magnify them in Exceſs. But generally it were to be wiſhed (as that which would make Learning indeed ſolid and fruitful) that Active Men would or could become Writers.

IN which Kind I cannot but mention *Honoris Causa*, Your Majesty's excellent Book, touching the Duty of a King: A Work richly compounded of *Divinity, Morality, and Policy*, with great Assumption of all other Arts: And being, in my Opinion, one of the most sound and healthful Writings that I have read; not distempered in the Heat of Invention, nor in the Coldness of Negligence; nor sick of Dizziness as those are who are confounded, or lose themselves in their Method; nor of Convulsions, as those who cramp in Matters impertinent: Nor favouring of Perfumes and Paintings, as those do who seek to please the Reader more than Nature beareth; and chiefly well disposed in the Spirits thereof, being agreeable to Truth, and apt for Use and Action; and far removed from that natural Infirmary, whereunto I noted those that write in their own Professions, to be subject, which is, that they exalt them above Measure. For your Majesty hath truly described, not a King of *Assyria*, or *Persia*, in their external Glory: But a *Moses*, or a *David*, Pastors of their People. Neither can I ever forget, what I heard your Majesty, in the same sacred Spirit of Government, deliver, in a great Cause of Judicature, which was:

I King James, to whom
the Advancement of Learning
is Dedicated by the
Author. He means the
Doron Basil.

That Kings ruled by their Laws, as God did by the Laws of Nature, and ought as rarely to put in Use their Supreme Prerogative, as God doth his Power of working Miracles. And yet notwithstanding, in your Book of a *Free Monarchy*, you do well give Men to understand, that you know the Plenitude of the Power and Right of a King, as well as the Circle of his Office and Duty.

THUS have I presumed to alledge this excellent Writing of your Majesty, as a prime or eminent Example of *Traſlates*, concerning Special and Respective Duties: Wherein I should have said as much, if it had been written a thousand Years since: Neither am I moved with certain Courtly Decencies, which esteem it Flattery to praise in Presence. No, it is Flattery to praise in Absence; that is, when either the Virtue is absent, or the Occasion is absent: And so the Praise is not natural, but forced, either in Truth, or Time. But let *Cicero* be read in his Oration *pro Marcello*, which is nothing but an excellent Table of *Cæsar's* Virtue, and made *to his Face*, besides the Example of many other excellent Persons, wiser a great deal than such Observers: And we will never doubt, upon a full Occasion, to give just Praises to present or absent.

BUT

BUT to return; There belongeth further to the handling of this Part touching the Duties of Professions and Vocations, a *Relative* or *Opposite*, touching the Frauds, Provisionary Cautions, Impositions and Vices of every Profession; which hath been likewise handled in many Writings. But how? Rather by way of Satyr and Cynically (after the manner of *Lucian*) than seriously and wisely. For Men have rather sought by Wit to deride and traduce much of that which is good in Professions, than with Judgment to discover and sever that which is corrupt. For as *Solomon* saith, He that cometh to seek after Knowledge, with a Mind to scorn and censure, shall be sure to find Matter for his Humour, but no Matter for his Instruction. *Quærenti derisorii, &c. A Scornor seeketh Wisdom, and findeth it not; but Knowledge is easy to him that understandeth; Prov. xiv. 6.* But the managing of this Argument with Integrity and Truth, which I note as *deficient*, seemeth to me to be one of the best Fortifications for Honesty and Virtue that can be planted. For as the Fable goes of the *Basilisk*, that if he see you first, you die for it; but if you see him first, he dies: So is it with Deceits and evil Arts; which if they be first espied, they lose their Life, that is, their Power of doing hurt: But if they prevent, they endanger. So that we are much beholden to *Machiavel*, and others, that

that write what Men do, and not what they ought to do. For it is not possible to join *the Wisdom of the Serpent with the Innocence of the Dove*; except Men know exactly all the Conditions of the *Serpent*: His Baseness, and going upon his Belly, his Volubility and Lubricity, his Envy and Sting, and the rest, that is, all Forms and Natures of Evil. For without this Skill, Virtue lieth open and unfenced. Nay, a sincere and honest Man can do no good upon those that are wicked, to reclaim them, without the Help of the Knowledge of Evil. For Men of corrupt Minds and depraved Judgments presuppose, that Honesty grows out of Ignorance, and Simplicity of Manners, and believing of Preachers, Schoolmasters, and Men's exterior Language: So that, unless you can make them perceive, that you know the utmost Reaches of their own corrupt Opinions, they despise all Morality, according to that admirable Doctrine of Solomon; *A Fool will not receive the Words of the Wise; unless thou speakest the very Things that are in his Heart*; Prov. xvii. 2. (i. e.) Unless thou know all the Coverts and Depths of Wickedness. But this Part concerning *Frauds, Cautions, and Respective Vices*, we place in the Number of *Deficients*, and will call it by the Name of *Satyra seria*, or a Treatise *De Interioribus rerum*: *A serious Satyr*; or, *Of the Mysteries of Professions*.

TO this Part touching *Respective Duty*, do also appertain the *Mutual Duties* between Husband and Wife, Parent and Child, Master and Servant : So likewise, the Laws of Friendship and Gratitude : As also the Civil Bonds of Fraternities, Colleges, Politick Bodies, of Neighbourhood, and all other proportionate Duties : Not as they are Parts of Government and Society, (for that refers to Politics) but as to the framing the Mind of particular Persons, to the maintaining of such Bonds of Society..

BUT the Doctrine concerning the *Good of Communion*, or of *Society*, (as that also of *Good Individual*) handles *Good*, not only simply, but comparatively also ; whereunto belongeth the weighing of Duties, between Person and Person ; between Case and Case ; between Private and Publick ; between Time present, and Time future : As we may see in the severe and cruel Proceeding of *L. Brutus* against his own Sons, which was so much extoll'd by the Generality of People : Yet, what says another ?

Infelix,

Infelix, utcunq; ferent ea fata minores, &c.

*His Sons, who seek the Tyrant to sustain,
And long for Arbitrary Lords again,
With Ignominy scourg'd, in open Sight,
He dooms to Death deserv'd, asserting Publick
Right.*

*Unhappy Man, to break the pious Laws
Of Nature, pleading in his Childrens Cause!
Howe'er the doubtful Fact is understood,
'Tis Love of Honour, and his Country's Good:
The Consul, not the Father, sheds the Blood.*

Dryd. Virg. Æn. 9. 820, &c.

AGAIN we see, when *M. Brutus* and *Cassius* invited to Supper certain whose Opinions they meant to feel, whether they were fit to be made their Associates, and cast forth the Question touching the Lawfulness of Killing a Tyrant, being an Usurper; They were divided in Opinion; Some holding, *That Servitude was the Extreme of Evils*; And others, *That Tyranny was better than a Civil War.* And a Number the like Cases there are, of *Comparative Duty*. Amongst which, that of all others, is the most frequent, where the Question is of a great deal of Good, to ensue of a small Injustice. Which *Jason of Theffaly* determined against the Truth; *Aliqua sunt injuste facienda, &c.* Some Things may be done unjustly,

unjustly, that many Things may be done justly. But the Reply is good; *Authorem præsentis justitiæ habes; sponsores futuræ non habes.* Men must pursue Things, which are just in present, and leave the future to Divine Providence. And so we pass on from this general Part touching the *Exemplar* and *Description* of Good.

C H A P. XXVI.

The Division of the Doctrine of the Culture of the Mind, into the Doctrine of the Characters of Minds; Of the Affections; and of the Remedies or Cures. An Appendix of the same Doctrine, touching the Congruity between the Good of the Mind, and the Good of the Body.

De Augmentis Scientiarum.

Lib. 7. Cap. 3.



OW therefore that we have spoken of this *Fruit of Life*, it remains to speak of the *Husbandry* belonging thereunto: Without which Part, the former seemeth to be no better than a fair Image or Statue, which is beautiful to contemplate, but without Life and

and Motion ; to which Opinion Aristotle himself subscribes in express Words ; *It is necessary to speak of Virtue, both what it is, and how to procure it.* For it would be to little Purpose, to know Virtue indeed, but to be ignorant of the Manner and Means how to compass it. For Enquiry must be made not only of the Form of Virtue, but also how she is to be come at : For we would have both these Things, the Knowledge of the Thing it self, and the Fruition thereof : Now this cannot succeed to our Desire, unless we know both of what Materials it is compounded, and how to procure it. Mag. Mor. Lib. 1. In such full Words, and with such Iteration, doth he inculcate this Part ; which notwithstanding himself pursues not. This likewise is the very Thing which Cicero attributes to Cato the Younger, as a great Commendation, that he had applyed himself to Philosophy, *Not for Disputation sake, but to live according to its Rules.* And although through the Neglect of our Times, wherein few Men hold any Consultation touching the Reformation of their Life, (as Seneca excellently says, *Of the Parts of Life every one deliberates ; of the Sum of Life no body ;*) this Part may seem superfluous, yet this moves us not to leave it untouched, but rather we conclude with that Aphorism of Hippocrates, *Qui gravi morbo correpti dolores non sentiunt, iis mens agra est ;* they who are sick of a dangerous Disease, and feel no Pain, are distempered

pered in their Understanding. Such Men need a Medicine not only to allwage the Disease, but to awake the Sense. And if it be said, that the Cure of Men's Minds belongs to sacred Divinity, it is most truly said; but yet what hinders, but Moral Philosophy may be accepted into the Train of Theology, as a wise Servant, and humble Hand-maid, ready at all Commands to do Her Service? For as it is in the *Psal.*, *That the Eyes of the Hand-maid look perpetually towards the Mistress; Psal. cxxiii.* And yet no doubt many Things are left to the Discretion and Care of the Hand-maid, to discern of the Mistress Will: So ought Moral Philosophy to give all due Observance to Divinity, and to be obsequious to Her Precepts; yet so as it may yield of it self (within due Limits) many sound and profitable Directions.

THIS Part therefore (when I seriously consider the Excellency thereof) I cannot but find exceeding strange that it is not yet reduced into a *Body of Knowledge*; the rather because it consisteth of much Matter, wherein both Speech and Action is often conversant, and such wherein the common Talk of Men (which is rare, but yet cometh sometimes to pass) is wiser than their Books. It is reasonable therefore that we propound it the more particularly, both for the Worthiness, and that we may acquit our selves for reporting

ing it *deficient*, which seemeth almost incredible, and so otherwise conceived and presupposed by those themselves, that have written. We will therefore enumerate some Heads or Points thereof, that it may appear the better what it is, and whether it be extant.

The Georgicks of the Mind, or of the Culture of our Manners.

FIRST therefore in this, (as in all Things which are Practical) we ought to cast up our Account, what is in our Power, and what not. For the one may be dealt with by *Alteration*, but the other by way of *Application* only. The Husbandman cannot command, neither the Nature of the Earth, nor the Seasons of the Year: No more can the Physician the Constitution of the Patient, nor the Variety of Accidents. So in the Culture and Cure of the Mind of Man, two Things are without our Command: Points of Nature, and Points of Fortune. For to the *Basis* of the one, and the Conditions of the other, our Work is limited and tied. In these Things therefore it is left unto us, to proceed by *Application*:

Superanda omnis fortuna ferendo :

Virg. *Æn.* 7.

By suff'ring well, our Fortune we subdue.

Dryden.

AND so likewise,

BY suff'ring well, our NATURE we subdue. But when we speak of *Suffering*, we do not speak of a dull and neglected *Suffering*, but of a wise and industrious *Suffering*, which draweth and continueth Use and Advantage out of that which seemeth adverse and contrary ; which is that Property which we call, *Accommodating*, or *Applying*. Now the Wisdom of *Application* lieth principally in the exact and distinct Knowledge of the precedent State, or Disposition, unto which we do apply : For we cannot fit a Garment, except we first take Measure of the Body.

SO then the first Article, touching the *Culture of the Mind*, is to set down sound and true Distributions and Descriptions of the several Characters of Mens Natures and Dispositions, specially having Regard to those Differences which are most radical, in being the Fountains and Causes of the rest, or most frequent in Concurrence or Commixture ; wherein it is not the handling of a few of them in

Passage

Passage, the better to describe the Mediocrities of Virtues, that can satisfy this Intention: For if it deserve to be considered, *That there are Minds which are proportioned to great Matters, and others to small*, (which Aristotle handleth, or ought to have handled by the Name of *Magnanimity*) doth it not deserve as well to be considered, *That there are Minds proportioned to intend many Matters, and others few*? So that some can divide themselves, others can perchance do exactly well, but it must be but in few Things at once; And so there cometh to be a *Narrowness of Mind*, as well as a *Pusillanimity*. And again, *That some Minds are proportioned to that which may be dispatched at once, or within a short Return of Time: Others to that which begins afar off, and is to be won with length of Pursuit.*

*Hoc regnum Dea gentibus esse
Si qua fata sinant, jam tum tenditq; fovetq;
Virg. Æn. 1. 21.*

*Here, if Heav'n were kind,
The Seat of awful Empire she design'd.
Dryden.*

SO that there may be fitly said to be a *Longanimity* (which is commonly also ascribed to God) as a *Magnanimity*. So further deserved it to be considered by Aristotle; *That there is a Disposition in Conversation* (supposing

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it in Things which do in no sort touch or concern a Man's self) to Sooth and Please; and a Disposition contrary, to Contradict and Cross. And deserveth it not much better to be considered, That there is a Disposition, not in Conversation or Talk, but in Matter of more serious Nature (and supposing it still in Things merely indifferent) to take Pleasure in the good of another; and a Disposition contrariwise, to take Distaste at the good of another? Which is that Property, which we call Good Nature, or Ill Nature, Benignity or Malignity. And therefore I cannot sufficiently marvel, that this Part of Knowledge touching the several Characters of Natures and Dispositions, should be omitted both in Morality and Policy, considering it would cast such resplendent Beams of Light upon both those Sciences.

A Man shall find in the Traditions of Astrology some pretty and apt Divisions of Mens Natures, according to the Predominances of the Planets; *Lovers of Quiet, Lovers of Action, Lovers of Victory, Lovers of Honour, Lovers of Pleasure, Lovers of Arts, Lovers of Change*; and so forth. So among the Poets, (Heroical, Satyrical, Tragical, Comical,) a Man shall find every where the Images of Wits, though commonly with Excess, and beyond the Proportion of Truth. But the best Provision, and noblest Matter of such a Treatise may be fetcht from the wiser sort of Historians,

Historians, but yet not from the Elogies only, which they are wont to subjoin upon mentioning the Death of any illustrious Person; but much more from the entire Body of the History, as often as such a Person enters upon the Stage as it were. For this interwoven Image seems to be a better Description, than any Judgment pass'd upon a Man in an Elogy: As that in *T. Livius*, of *Africanus*, and of *Cato* the Elder; In *Tacitus*, of *Tiberius*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*; In *Herodian*, of *Septimius Severus*; In *Philip de Commines*, of *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*; In *Francis Guicciardine*, of *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, *Maximilian* the Emperor, and of *Leo*, and *Clement*, Bishops of *Rome*. For these Writers, having the Images of those Persons, whom they made choice of to decipher, constantly as it were in their Eye, hardly ever make mention of their Acts and Atchievements, without interspersing at the same Time something touching their Natures. So likewise, a Man shall find in the wisest sort of those Relations, which the *Italians* make touching *Conclaves*, the Natures of the several Cardinals, handsomly and lively painted forth: As the Letters of Embassadors set forth the Natures and Manners of Counsellors to Princes. A Man shall meet with in every Day's Conference the Denomination of *sensitive*, *dry*, *formal*, *real*, *humorous*, *certain*, *Huomo di prima impressione*, *Huomo di ultima impressione*, and the like; and

yet nevertheless this Kind of Observations wandreth in Words, but is not fixed in Enquiry. For the Distinctions are found (many of them) but we conclude no Precepts upon them, because (as was said) both History, Poetry, and daily Experience are as goodly Fields where these Observations grow, whereof we make a few Posies to hold in our Hands, but no Man bringeth them to the Confectionary, that Receipts may be made of them for the Use of Life. Wherefore let there be made out of this Matter (which certainly is fruitful and copious) a diligent and full Treatise.

* But my Meaning is not, that these Characters should in *Ethicks* (as in Histories, and Poems, and in common Conversation) be drawn, as perfect, entire Civil Images; but rather as the Lines, and rude Strokes of the Images themselves; (which being compounded and mix'd together, form and constitute all *Effigies* whatsoever;) How many, and of what Sort they are; and how connected together,

* Being in some doubt about the true Interpretation of two or three Lines here, I think it best to give the Reader the Original *Latin*. *Neq. vero volumus, ut Characteres isti in Ethicis (ut fit apud Historicos, & Poetas, & in Sermonibus Communibus,) excipiantur, tanquam imagines Civiles integra; sed potius ut Imaginum ipsarum Lineæ, & Ductus magis simplices; quæ inter se compositæ & commixtæ quas-cunq; effigies constituunt; Quot & quales ea sint; & quomodo inter se connexæ, & subordinatæ; ut fiat tanquam artificioso, &c.*

and

and subordinate one to the other; to the end there may be made a Kind of artificial and accurate Dissection of Tempers and Natures; and that a Discovery may be made of the Secrets of Dispositions, in particular Persons, and from the Knowledge thereof, Precepts and Rules more truly drawn for the Cures of the Mind.

AND not only the Characters of Dispositions, impressed by Nature, ought to be taken into this Treatise; but those also, which are imposed upon the Mind, by *the Sex*, by the *Age*, by the *Country*, by *Health* and *Sickness*, by *Beauty* and *Deformity*, and the like, which are inherent, and not extern: And again those which are caused by extern Fortune: As *Sovereignty*, *Nobility*, *obscure Birth*, *Riches*, *Want*, *Magistracy*, *Privateness*, *Prosperity*, *Adversity*, *Constant Fortune*, *Variable Fortune*, *Rising per saltum, per gradus*, (*all at once, or gradually*) and the like: And therefore we see that *Plautus* maketh it a Wonder to see an Old Man beneficent, *Benignitas hujus ut adolescentuli est* (*he is as generous as a Young Fellow.*) *St. Paul* concludeth that Severity of Discipline was to be used to the *Cretans* (*Rebuke them sharply*) upon the Disposition of their Country, (*the Cretans are always Liars, evil Beasts, slow Bellies*, *Tit. 1.*) *Sallust* noteth that it is usual with Kings to desire Contradictories, *Sed plerumq; Regiæ voluntates*

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voluntates, ut vehementes sunt, sic mobiles, sæpeq; ipsæ sibi adversæ. Tacitus observeth how rarely Raising of the Fortune mendeth the Disposition, *Solus Vespasianus mutatus in melius.* Pindar makes an Observation that great and sudden Fortune loosens and dislines Men's Minds, *There are some that are not able to digest great Felicity.* So the Psalm sheweth it is more easy to keep a Measure in the enjoying of Fortune, than in the Increase of Fortune; *If Riches increase, set not your Heart upon them.* These Observations and the like, I deny not, but are touched a little by Aristotle, as in Passage, in his Rhetoricks, and are handled in some scattered Discourses, but they were never incorporate into Moral Philosophy, to which they do essentially belong; as the Knowledge of the Diversity of Grounds doth to Agriculture, and the Knowledge of the Diversity of Complexions and Constitutions doth to the Physician; except we mean to follow the Indiscretion of Empiricks, who administer the same Medicines to all Patients, of what Constitution soever.

ANOTHER Article of this Knowledge is the Inquiry touching the Affections: For as in Medicining of the Body, the first Thing in Order is, to know the divers Complexions and Constitutions; secondly, the Diseases; and lastly, the Cures: So in Medicining of the Mind, after Knowledge of the divers Characters

acters of Men's Natures, it followeth in Order to know the Diseases and Infirmities of the Mind, which are no other than the Perturbations and Distempers of the Affections. For as the Antient Politiques in Popular States were wont to Compare the People to the Sea, and the Orators to the Winds; because as the Sea would of it self be calm and quiet, if the Winds did not move and trouble it; so the People would be peaceable and tractable, if the seditious Orators did not set them in Working and Agitation: So it may be fitly said, that the Mind of Man in the Nature thereof, would be temperate and stayed, if the Affections, as Winds, did not put it into Tumult and Perturbation. And here again I find it strange, as before, that *Aristotle* should have written divers Volumes of Ethiques, and never handled the Affections, which is the principal Subject thereof, and yet in his Rhetoricks, where they are considered but Collaterally, and in a second Degree (that is, so far as they may be rais'd and moved by Speech) he findeth Place for them, and handleth them well for the Quantity; but where their true Place is, he pretermitteth them. For it is not his Disputations about Pleasure and Pain, that can satisfy this Inquiry, no more than he that should generally handle the Nature of Light, can be said to handle the Nature of Colours: For Pleasure and Pain are to the particular Affections, as Light is to particular Colours.

Colours. Better Travels, I suppose, had the *Stoicks* taken in this Argument, as far as I can gather by that which we have at second hand: But yet it is like, it was after their manner, rather in Subtilty of Definitions, (which, in a Subject of this Nature, are but Curiosities) than in active and ample Descriptions and Observations. So likewise I find some particular Writings of an elegant Nature touching some of the Affections, as of *Anger*, of *Comfort upon adverse Accidents*, of *Tenderness of Countenance*, and some few other. But to speak Truth, the best Doctors of this Knowledge are the Poets and Writers of Histories, where we may find painted forth with great Life, How Affections are kindled and incited; how pacified and refrained; and how again contained from Act, and further Degree; how they disclose and betray themselves, tho' checkt and hid; how they work; how they vary; how they gather, and fortify; how they are enwrapt one within another; and how they fight and encounter one with another, and other the like Particularities: Amongst the which, this last is of special Use in Moral and Civil Matters; how I say to set Affection against Affection, and to master one by another; even as we use to hunt Beast with Beast, and fly Bird with Bird, which otherwise perchance we could not so easily recover: Upon which Foundation is erected that excellent Use of *Reward* and *Punishment*,

nishment, whereby Civil States consist, employing the predominant Affections of *Fear* and *Hope*, for the suppressing and bridling the rest. For as in the Government of States, it is necessary to bridle one Faction with another, so it is in the Government Within.

NOW come we to those Points which are within our own Command, and have Force and Operation upon the Mind to affect the Will and Appetite, and to alter Manners: Wherein the Philosophers ought to have made a diligent and painful Inquiry concerning the Force and Energy of *Custom*, *Exercise*, *Habit*, *Education*, *Imitation*, *Emulation*, *Company*, *Friendship*, *Praise*, *Reproof*, *Exhortation*, *Fame*, *Laws*, *Books*, *Studies*, and the like. For these are the Points which have Dominion in *Morality*; From these Agents the Mind suffereth, and is turn'd about: Of these, as Ingredients, Receipts are compounded, which conduce to the Preservation and Recovery of the Health and Good Estate of the Mind, as far as pertaineth to Human Medicine. Of which Number we will select some one or two to insist upon as an Example of the rest, because it were too long to prosecute all; and therefore we resume *Custom* and *Habit* to touch upon.

THAT Opinion of *Aristotle* seems to me to favour much of Negligence, and a narrow Contemplation, where he asserts, That over those

those Actions which are natural, *Custom* hath no Power; using for Example; That if a Stone be thrown ten thousand Times up, it will not learn to ascend of it self; And that by often Seeing or Hearing, we do not learn to See or Hear the better. For though this Principle be true in Things wherein Nature is *Peremptory* (the Reason whereof we cannot now stand to discuss) yet it is otherwise in Things, wherein Nature, according to a Latitude, admitteth of *Intention* and *Remission*. For he might see that a streight Glove will come more easily on with Use, and that a Wand will by Use bend otherwise than it grew: And that by Use of the Voice, we speak louder and stronger: And that by Use of enduring Heat and Cold, we endure it the better: Which two latter Examples have a nearer Resemblance to the Subject he is handling, than those Instances which he alledgeth. But allowing his Conclusion, *That Virtues and Vices consist in Habit*, he ought so much the more to have taught the manner of superinducing that Habit: For a great many Precepts may be given concerning the wise Ordering of the Mind, no less than those of the Body. We will recite a few of them.

THE First shall be, to beware, at the very Beginning, of harder, or smaller Tasks, than the Case requires: For if too great a Burden be laid on, in a diffident Nature, you'll

you'll blunt the Chearfulness of good Hopes : In a Nature full of Assurance, you'll raise an Opinion, whereby a Man will promise himself more than he is able to perform; which occasions Sloth. And in both Tempers, it will come to pass, that the Experiment will not satisfy the Expectation; which ever discourages and confounds the Mind. But if the Tasks are too easy, as to the Progress, in the main, there's great Loss.

A Second shall be, that for the Exercising of any Faculty, whereby a Habit may be acquir'd, two Seasons chiefly be observ'd: The One, when the Mind is best disposed for the Thing; the Other, when it is worst: That by the former, we may rid Ground amain; and by the latter, we may by a strenuous Contention work out the Knots and Stops of the Mind: Whereby the middle Times will pass easily and smoothly.

THE Third Precept shall be that which *Aristotle* mentions by the by; That we bear with all our Might (provided it be a Thing not vicious) towards the contrary of that, whereunto we are by Nature most inclin'd: Like as when we row against the Stream; or bend a crooked Wand, to make it straight, the contrary Way.

THE

THE Fourth Precept depends upon a Principle that is most True; *viz.* That the Mind is more happily and sweetly brought to any Thing, if that, at which we aim, be not principal in the Intention of the Doer, but be master'd as it were, *aliud agendo*; because such is the Instinct of Nature, that she in a manner hates Necessity and severe Commands. Many other Rules there are which may profitably be prescribed touching the Direction of Custom: For Custom, if it be wisely and skilfully induced, really proves (as is commonly said) a second Nature: But if it be conducted unskilfully, and at hap-hazard, it will be only Nature's Ape; which imitates nothing to the Life, but only unhandfomly and uglily.

IN like manner, if we would speak of Books and Studies, and of their Power and Influence upon Manners; are there not divers Precepts, and useful Directions appertaining thereunto? Hath not one of the Fathers, in great Indignation, called Poetry, the Wine of Devils; because it really springs a World of Temptations, Desires, and vain Opinions? Is it not a very wise Opinion of *Aristotle's*, and worthy to be well-weigh'd; *That Young Men are not fit Auditors of Moral Philosophy; because the Boyling of their Passions is not yet settled, nor laid asleep by Time and Experience?*

Experience? And to speak Truth, is not this the Reason, that those most excellent Books and Discourses of Antient Writers (whereby Men are most powerfully invited to Virtue; as well by representing Her August Majesty to the Eyes of all; as by exposing to Scorn, popular Opinions, attir'd as it were, to the Disgrace of Virtue, in the Habit of Parasites) are of so little Effect towards Honesty of Life, and the Reformation of corrupt Manners; because they use not to be read and revolv'd by Men mature in Years and Judgment, but are left only to Boys and Beginners? Is not this also true, that Young Men are much less fit Auditors of Policy than Morality, till they are thoroughly season'd with Religion, and the Doctrine of Manners and Duties; lest haply their Judgments being deprav'd and corrupted, they should come to think, that there are no Moral Differences true and solid of Things; but that all is to be measur'd by Utility or Success? As the Poet says:

Prosperum & felix scelus Virtus vocatur.

AND again:

Ille crucem pretium sceleris tulit, hic diadema.

BUT the Poets, you'll say, speak this Satyrically, and by way of Indignation: Yes, but some Books of Politicks suppose the same Thing

Thing seriously and positively. For so it pleases *Mackiavel* to say: *That if Cæsar had happen'd to have been overthrown, he would have been more odious than even Catiline.* As tho' I warrant there was no Difference, but in Fortune only, between a Fury, compos'd of Lust and Blood, and an exalted Spirit, and of all Mortals (Ambition apart) most to be admired. We see by this very Thing also, how necessary it is for Men to drink deep of Pious and Moral Doctrines, before they taste of Politicks; for that they who are bred up in the Courts of Princes, and in Affairs of State, from their tender Years, hardly ever attain a sincere and inward Probity of Manners; how much less if there be added thereto the Discipline of Corrupt Books also? Again, even in Moral Instructions themselves, or at least some of them, is not Caution likewise to be used, lest Men become thereby Stiff, Arrogant, and Infociable, according to that of *Cicero*, touching *M. Cato*? *Hæc bona, quæ videmus divina & egregia, ipsius scitote esse propria: quæ nonnunquam requirimus, ea sunt omnia non a natura, sed a magistro:* These Divine and Excellent Qualities which we see, are, assure your selves, his own proper Endowments. But the Things we sometimes think him deficient in, they are all deriv'd not from Nature, but from his Instructor; (*Zeno.*) Many other Axioms and Advises there are touching those Properties and Effects, which

Studies

Studies do infuse and instill into Manners. For that is a true Saying, *Abeunt Studia in Mores*: Which may equally be affirm'd of those other Points of *Company, Fame, Laws,* and the rest; which we recited in the Beginning of the Doctrine of *Morality*.

BUT there is a *Culture* of the *Mind*, that seemeth yet more accurate and elaborate than the rest, and is built upon this Ground; *That the Minds of all Men are at some Times in a State more perfect, and at other Times in a State more depraved.* The Purpose therefore and Intention of this *Culture* is, to fix and cherish those *Good Seasons*, and to strike out of the Calendar as it were, and expunge the *Evil*. The *Fixation* of the *good Times* is procured by two Means; *Vows*, or at least most steady *Resolutions*; and by *Observances* and *Exercises*; which are not to be regarded so much in themselves, as because they keep the Mind in continual Obedience. The *Obliteration* of the *Evil* may in like manner be brought about two ways; by some kind of *Redemption*, or *Expiation* of that which is past; and by a *Beginning*, or an *Account de novo* for the Time to come. But this Part seems wholly to belong to Divinity, and justly; since the true and genuine *Moral Philosophy* (as was said) is but an Handmaid to Religion.

WHEREFORE we will conclude this Part concerning the *Culture* of the *Mind* with that Remedy, which of all other is the most Compendious and Summary; And again the most noble and effectual to the forming of the Mind to Virtue, and placing it in a State next to Perfection. And it is this, *The electing and propounding unto a Man's self good and virtuous Ends of his Life and Actions; which yet must be such as may be in a reasonable sort within his Compass to attain.* For if these two Things be supposed, *That a Man set before him honest and good Ends; and again, that he be Resolute, Constant, and True unto them;* it will follow that he shall mould himself into all Virtue at once. And this is indeed like *the Work of Nature*; whereas the other Course is like *the Work of the Hand*. For as when a *Carver* cuts and carves an Image, he shapes only that part of the Figure which he is working upon, and none of the rest; (as if he be upon the Face, the rest of the Body remains a rude and formless Stone, till such Time as he comes to it :) But contrariwise when *Nature* makes a *Flower*, or *Living Creature*, she forms the Rudiments of all the Parts at one Time: After the same manner in obtaining Virtue by *Habit*, while a Man practises Temperance, he does not profit much as to Fortitude, nor the like: But when we dedicate and devote our selves wholly to good
and

and honest Ends, look what Virtue soever the Pursuit and Passage towards those *Ends* commend unto us, we shall find our selves invested with a precedent Disposition to conform our selves thereunto. And this may be that State of Mind, which is excellently described by *Aristotle*, and which he says ought not to be called *Virtuous*, but *Divine*. His Words are these, *It may be reasonable to oppose to Immanity that Ability which is above Humanity, namely, Heroical or Divine Virtue.* And a little after; *For as a Beast is not capable of Vice or Virtue, so neither is the Deity.* But for this State, it is a certain Thing exalted above Virtue; That, a certain Thing different from Vice. And therefore we may see what Celstitude of Honour *Plinius Secundus* attributes to *Trajan*, from an Excess of Heathen Magniloquence, when he said, *That Men needed to make no other Prayers to the Gods, than that they would continue to be as Good and Propitious Lords to them, as Trajan had been;* as if he had not been only an Imitation of Divine Nature, but a Pattern of it. But these are Heathen and Prophane Boastings, having but a Shadow of that Divine State of Mind, which Religion and the Holy Faith doth conduct Men unto, by imprinting upon their Souls *Charity*, which is excellently called *the Bond of Perfection*, because it comprehends and fastens all Virtues together. And it is elegantly said by *Menander* of Sensual

Love, which is but a false Imitation of Divine Love; *Amor, melior Sophista laevo, ad humanam vitam*, That Love teaches a Man to carry himself better, than the *Sophist* or *Preceptor*, whom he calls *Left-handed*, because with all his Rules and Precepts he cannot form a Man so *dextrously*, nor with that Facility to value himself, and govern himself, as Love can do: So certainly if a Man's Mind be truly inflamed with *Charity*, it doth work him suddenly into greater Perfection, than all the Doctrine of Morality can do, which is but a *Sophist* in Comparison of the other. Nay, farther, as *Zenophon* observ'd truly, that all other Affections, though they raise the Mind, yet they do it by Distorting, and Uncomeliness of Extasies or Excesses; but only Love exalts the Mind, and nevertheless at the same Instant settles and composes it: So all other Human Excellencies, which we admire, tho' they advance Nature, yet they are subject to Excess; only Charity admits no Excess. For so we see, aspiring to be like God in Power, the Angels transgress'd and fell; *I will ascend, and be like the Highest*: By aspiring to be like God in Knowledge, Man transgress'd and fell; *Ye shall be as Gods, knowing Good and Evil*: But by aspiring to a Similitude of God in Goodness or Love, neither Man nor Angel ever transgress'd, or shall transgress. Nay, unto this Imitation we are even called, *Love your Enemies, do Good to them that hate you,*
and

and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you ; that you may be the Children of your Father which is in Heaven, who makes his Sun to rise on the Evil, and on the Good, and sends Rain upon the Just, and upon the Unjust. So in the first Platform of the Divine Nature, the Heathen Religion speaketh thus (*Best, Greatest ;*) And the Sacred Scriptures thus ; *His Mercy is above all his Works.*

AND thus we conclude this Part of *Moral Knowledge* concerning the *Culture and Regiment of the Mind*. Wherein, if a Man, considering the Parts thereof, which I have touched upon, do judge, that I have taken Pains only to collect into an *Art or Science*, that which hath been pretermitted by other Writers, as common and obvious, and plain and clear enough of it self ; he judgeth well. In the mean Time, let him remember that which I hinted at the Beginning, that my Design was, not to pursue the Flourish and Beauty of Things, but their Use and Truth. And as *Philocrates* sported with *Demosthenes* ; You must not wonder, (*Athenians*) that *Demosthenes* and I differ, for he drinks Water, and I drink Wine : And like as we read of an antient Parable of the two Gates of Sleep ;

*Sunt geminae Somni portæ: quarum altera
fertur*

*Cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus um-
bris:*

*Alteræ, candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
Sed falsa ad Cælum mittunt insomnia ma-
nes.*

Virg. Æn. 6. 893.

*Two Gates the silent House of Sleep adorn;
Of Polish'd Iv'ry This; That, of transparent
Horn:*

*True Visions through transparent Horn arise;
Thro' polish'd Iv'ry pass deluding Lies.*

Dryden.

SO if we put on Sobriety and Atten-
tion, we shall find it a sure Maxim in
Knowledge, that the more pleasant Liquor
of *Wine* is the more vaporous; and the
statelier Gate of *Ivory* sendeth forth the
falsè Dreams.

AND thus we have concluded that ge-
neral Part of Human Philosophy, which con-
templateth Man, as he consists of Body and
Spirit. By way of Supplement, that Ob-
servation

servation about *Moral Knowledge* may be set down, which is, *That there is a Kind of Relation and Conformity between the Good of the Mind, and the Good of the Body.* For as the Good of the Body consists, as hath been said, of *Health, Beauty, Strength, and Pleasure*; So the Good of the Mind, if we consider it according to the *Axioms of Moral Knowledge*, we shall perceive to tend to this Point; “To make the Mind sound, and free from Perturbation; Beautiful, and graced with the Ornaments of true Decency; Strong, and Agil to all the Duties of Life; Lastly, Not Stupid, but retaining a quick and lively Sense of Pleasure, and Honest Recreation.” But these Four, as in the Body, so in the Mind, seldom meet all together. For it is easy to observe, that many have Strength of Wit and Courage, but have neither Health from Perturbations, nor any Beauty, or Decency in their Actions: Some again have an Elegancy and Fineness of Carriage, who have neither Soundness of Honesty, nor Substance of Sufficiency: And some again have honest and reform’d Minds, who are neither an Ornament to themselves, nor useful to the Publick: Others, who perhaps are Masters of three of them, but yet being possess’d with a certain Stoical

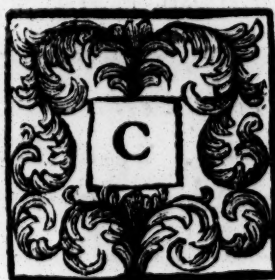
Sadness, and Stupidity, practise indeed the Actions of Virtue, but have none of the Pleasures of it. And if it chance, that of these *Four*, *Two* or *Three* meet, yet (as was said) a Concurrence of all *Four* very rarely happens.

C H A P. XXVII.

Of Civil Conversation.

De Augmentis Scientiarum.

Lib. 8. Cap. I.



CONVERSATION certainly ought not to be affected, but much less neglected; since a prudent Government of it, both carries in it self a certain Gracefulness of Manners; and is of huge Service towards a clever Management of Business, as well Publick as Private. For as Action in an Orator is so much regarded (tho' it be but an outward Quality) that it is preferr'd even before those other Parts, which seem more grave and intrinsick; in
the

the same manner almost, in a Man of a Civil Practick Life, Conversation, and the Regimen thereof, (tho' it be conversant about Exteriors) finds, tho' not the chiefest, yet certainly an eminent Place. For of how great Importance is the very Countenance, and the Composure thereof? The Poet says well:

— *Nec vultu destrue verba tuo.*

FOR a Man may undermine, and utterly betray the Force of his Words, with his Countenance. Nay our Actions, as well as Words, may likewise be destroy'd by the Countenance, if we may believe *Cicero*: Who recommending to his Brother Affability towards the Provincials; said it did not principally consist in this, the giving easy Access to his Person, unless likewise he receiv'd them Courteously with his very Countenance: *Nil interest habere ostium apertum, vultum clausum: To admit Men with an open Door, and to receive them with a shut and reserved Countenance*: We see likewise *Atticus*, upon the first Interview between *Cicero* and *Cæsar*, the War as yet at the Height, did diligently and seriously advise *Cicero*, by a Letter touching the Composing of his Countenance and Gesture to Dignity and Gravity. Now if the Management of the Face and Countenance alone, be of such effect, how much more, Familiar

miliar Speech, and other Carriage, appertaining to Conversation? And indeed the Summ and Abridgment of the Grace, and Elegancy of Behaviour, is compriz'd mostly in this; *the Measuring in a just Ballance, as it were, and maintaining, both our own Dignity, and that of Others.* Which thing is well express'd also by T. Livius (tho' intended do something else) in that Character of a Person: *Lest (says he) I should seem either Arrogant, or Obnoxious: Whereof the one is the Humour of a Man, that is forgetful of another's Liberty: the other, of a Man, that forgets his own.*

BUT on the other side, if we study Urbanity, and outward Elegancy of Behaviour, too much, they pass into a deformed, adulterate Affectation: *Quid enim deformius, quam Scenam in vitam transferre? What can be a more deform'd Spectacle, than to transfer the Scene into our common Course of Life?* Further, tho' they fall not by any means into that vicious Extreme; yet too much Time is consumed in those small Matters, and the Mind is depress'd and bow'd to the Study of them, more than is fit. And therefore, as in the Universities, Young Students, too much addicted to keep Company, use to be put in Mind by their Tutors, *Amicos esse fures temporis, That Friends are the Thieves of Time:* So certainly this same continual Intention of
Mind,

Mind, upon the Grace of Conversation, is a great Pilferer of more serious Meditations. Again, such as are so exactly accomplish'd in Urbanity, and seem, as it were, form'd by Nature for this Thing alone, have commonly this Quality to please themselves in that only, and scarce ever to aspire after more solid and higher Virtues: Whereas on the contrary, those that are conscious to themselves of a Defect this way, seek Comeliness from a good Reputation; For where a good Reputation is, almost all Things are Becoming; but where that fails, in such Case, a Supply must be fetcht from Exactness of Behaviour, and Urbanity. Again, there is scarce a greater or more frequent Impediment of Action, than an over-curious Observance of this same outward *Decorum*: And that other Attendant of it; namely, A scrupulous Election of Time and Opportunities. For *Solomon* saith excellently, *Qui respicit ad, &c. He that regards the Winds shall not sow: And he that regards the Clouds, shall not reap.* For we must make Opportunity, oftner than wait it. To conclude in a Word, This Graceful Composition of Behaviour, is as it were the Garment of the Mind: And therefore ought to resemble the good Conditions of a Garment. For first, it ought to be such as is in Fashion: Next, not to be too curious or costly: Then, to be so contriv'd, as to set forth any good Shape of the

the Mind, most to View ; and to supply and hide any Deformity : Lastly, and above all, it ought not to be too strait, nor so to restrain the Spirit, as to check and hinder the Motions thereof in Business.

C H A P. XXVIII.

The Architect of his Fortune.

De Augmentis Scientiarum.

Lib. 8. Cap. 1.



HERE is a certain Wisdom of giving Counsel to others; and there is another Wisdom also of Forecasting for a Man's own Fortune: And those sometimes meet, but they are oftner sever'd. For many are exceeding Wise in ordering their own Affairs; who are notwithstanding very weak as to the Administration of Civil Affairs, or giving Counsel: Like the Ant, which is a wise Creature for it self, but very hurtful in a Garden. This *Virtue of being Wise for ones self*, was not unknown to the Romans themselves, tho' excellent Patriots: Whence the Comick Poet; *Certainly the Mould of a Wise Man's Fortune is in his own Hands.* Nay, it grew into an Adagy with them, *Every Man is the Architect* of

of his own Fortune. And *Livy* attributes the same to *Cato the Elder*; *In this Man there was such a Strength of Understanding, and Natural Endowments, that wheresoever his Nativity had cast him, he seem'd able to have made his own Fortune.*

THIS Kind of Prudence, if a Man profess it, and openly boast of it, hath ever been thought not only Impolitick, but an unlucky and ominous thing: As was observ'd in *Timotheus the Athenian*; who, after he had done many excellent Services to the Honour and Benefit of his Country, and was giving an Account (as the Manner then was) of his Administration to the People; concluded every Particular with this Clause; *And in this thing Fortune had no Share.* But it fell out, that he never prosper'd in any thing he took in Hand afterwards. This is in truth too high and arrogant; favouring of that of *Ezekiel* concerning *Pharaoh*; *Thou sayest the River is mine own, and I have made my self.* Ezek. 29. 3. Or that of *Habacuc* the Prophet; *They exalt and Sacrifice to their own Net.* Or that of the Poet, concerning *Mezentius* the Despiser of the Gods;

Dextra

*Dextra mibi Dens, & telum quod missile libro,
Nunc adsint. —*

*My strong right Hand, and Sword, assist my Stroke;
There only Gods Mezentius will Invoke.*

Dryden.

Finally, *Julius Caesar*, never (to my Remembrance) betrayed the Impotence of his hidden Thoughts but by an Expression of like Nature: For when the Soothsayer inform'd him, *That the Entrails were not prosperous*, he murmur'd in a low Voice to himself; *They shall be more lucky when I please.* Which very saying did not long precede the Misfortune of his Death. But this same excess of Confidence (as we have said) as it is an unhallowed thing, so it is unblest. Wherefore Great Men, and truly Wise, have thought good to ascribe all their Successes to their Felicity, not to their Virtue or Industry: For both *Sylla* Sirnamed himself *Felix* not *Magnus*; and *Cæsar* (more advisedly than before) says to the Pilot; *Thou carriest Cæsar, and his Fortune.*

NEVERTHELESS, such Positions as these; *Every Man is the Architect of his own Fortune. A Wise Man will command the Stars. No way is impassible to Virtue*, and the like; if they be understood and applied rather as Spurs to Industry, than as Stirrups to Insolence; and
more

more to beget in Men Constancy and Strength of Resolution, than Arrogance and Boasting; have been deservedly accounted sound and healthful, and, no question, have found Place in Great Minds; to that Degree, that sometimes they can scarce dissemble such Thoughts. For we see *Augustus Caesar* (who compared with his Uncle, was rather different, than inferior; but certainly a Person somewhat more staid and better govern'd) at the End of his Life, desired of his Friends that stood about his Bed, that when he had Expired, they would give him a *Plaudite*; as if he were conscious to himself; *That he had play'd his Part well upon the Stage of Life.* This Part of Knowledge also may be reckoned among the *Deficients*: Not but that it is used and frequented in Practice, abundantly more than is fitting; but because Books concerning this Argument are silent. Wherefore we will recite some Heads of it; and call it, *The Architect of Fortune*; or, *A Doctrine concerning the Course of Life for Advancement.*

AND at the first View, I shall seem to handle a new and unusual Argument; in teaching Men how they may be Contrivers of their own Fortune; a Doctrine, no doubt, to which every Man will willingly yield himself up a Disciple, till he thoroughly sees the Difficulty of it. For the Requisites to the Purchase of a Fortune, are neither lighter,

nor fewer, nor less difficult, than to the Purchase of Virtue; And it is as hard, and severe a Thing, to be a true Politique, as to be truly Moral. But the Handling of this Doctrine concerns greatly the Honour of Learning. For it is of special Importance to the Credit of Learning, that *Pragmatick* Men may know, that Learning is no way like some small Bird, as the Lark, that is wont to mount, and sing, and please her self, and nothing else: But further, that she is a Kind of Hawk rather, that can both soar aloft, and every now and then, when she sees her Time, stoop, and seize her Prey. Again, this Kind of Wisdom relates to the *Perfection* of Learning, because it is the true Rule of a perfect Inquiry after Truth, *That nothing be found in the Globe of Matter, that hath not a Parallel in the Crystalline Globe, or the Intellect*: That is, that there be not any Thing in Being and Action, that should not be drawn and collected into Contemplation and Doctrine. And yet Learning does not admire or esteem of this Architecture of Fortune, otherwise than as a Work of an inferior Kind. For no Man's particular Fortune can be an End any way worthy of his Being. Nay it often happens, that Men of excellent Virtues abandon their Fortune of their own Accord, that they may have Leisure for more sublime Respects.

NEVER.

NEVERTHELESS, Fortune, as she is an Instrument of Virtue, and of doing Good, deserves to be considered in her Place, and to have some Instructions given about her.

UNTO this Doctrine appertain Precepts, some Summary and Principal; Others Scatter'd and Various. Precepts Summary are conversant about the true Knowledge both of Others, and of a Man's self. The first Precept therefore, wherein the principal Point of the Knowledge of Others consists, may be determin'd this; That we procure to our selves (as far as may be) that Window, which *Momus* once required. He, when he saw in the Frame of Man's Heart, so many Angles and Recesses, found fault that there was not a Window, through which a Man might look into those obscure and crooked Windings. This Window we shall obtain, if with all Diligence we purchase and procure to our selves Information touching the particular Persons, with whom we negotiate and have to do; as also of their Natures, their Desires, their Ends, their Customs and Fashions, their Helps and Props whereby they are chiefly supported, and are strong and powerful; so again, of their Defects and Weaknesses, and in what Part they lie most open, and obnoxious; of their Friends, Factions, Patrons, Dependencies; and again of their Enemies, En-

viers, Competitors; as also their Times, and Seasons of Access:

Sola viri molles aditus & tempora noras:

Virg. *Æn.* 4.

—*You only know what Time is best,
To move the haughty Foe with my Request.*

Lauderdale.

LASTLY, The Principles and Rules which they have set down to themselves, and the like. Furthermore, Information is to be taken not only of Persons, but of particular Actions also, which from Time to Time are on Foot, and as it were upon the Anvil; how they are conducted and succeed; by whose Endeavours they are further'd; by whom they are opposed; and of what Weight and Moment they are; and what may be their Consequence, and the like. For the Knowledge of present Actions, is both very material in it self, and carries in it this also, that without it, the Knowledge of Persons too is like to be very deceitful and erroneous. For Men change with the Actions: And are one thing, while they are engaged and environed with Business; and another, when they return to their Nature.

AND that such Knowledge may be compassed, *Solomon* is our Surety, who saith;
*Counsel in the Heart of Man is like a deep
Water;*

Water; but a wise Man will draw it out. And although the Knowledge it self fall not under Precept, because it is of Individuals, yet Instructions for the fetching it out, may with Profit be given.

THE Knowledge of Men may be gathered and drawn out six Ways: By their Faces and Countenances: By their Words: By their Deeds: By their Tempers: By their Ends: Lastly, By the Relations of others.

AS for the Countenance, let not the ancient Adagy move us, *Fronti nulla fides*; there's no Trust to be given to the Countenance; for although this Saying may not be amiss, touching the outward and general Composure of the Countenance and Gesture; yet there are certain secret and more subtil Motions and Labours of the Eyes, Face, Looks, and Behaviour, by which (as *Q. Cicero* elegantly saith) the Gate of the Mind is as it were unlock'd and open'd.

AS for Men's Words, they are (as Physicians say of People's Water) full of Flattery and Deceit; yet these counterfeit meretricious Varnishes are two Ways excellently discovered; Namely, when Words are uttered, either upon a Surprise; or in a Passion. So *Tiberius* being suddenly mov'd, and carried away a little, by a stinging Speech of *Agrip-*

pina, came a Step out of his innate Simulation; *These Words* (saith Tacitus) being heard by him, drew from his dark Breast such Words as he used seldom to let fall; and taking her up sharply, he told her her own in a Verse; That she was therefore hurt, because she did not reign. Wherefore the Poet does not improperly call such Passions, *Tortures*, because they urge Men to confess their Secrets:

Vino tortus & ira;

Rack'd by Wine and Anger.

INDEED Experience it self shews that there are very few Men so true to themselves, and so settled in their Resolutions, but that sometimes upon Heat of Passion; sometimes upon Bravado; sometimes upon entire Good Will to a Friend; sometimes upon Weakness of Mind, that can no longer hold out under the Weight of Thought; sometimes, lastly, upon some other Affection and Passion, they will reveal and communicate their inmost Thoughts. But above all, it sounds the Mind to the Bottom, and searches all its Folds, when Simulation is attack'd by a Counter-Simulation; according to the *Spanish Proverb*, *Tell a Lye, and find a Truth.*

NEITHER are Deeds themselves, tho' they be the surest Pledges of Men's Minds, altogether to be trusted, without a diligent and judicious Consideration, both of their Size and Nature. For the Saying is most true; *Fraud erects it self Credit in smaller Matters, that it may cheat with better Advantage afterwards.* And the Italian thinks himself upon the Cross with the Cryer, and upon the Point to be bought and sold, when he is better used than he is wont to be, without manifest Cause. For those *minor Favours* render Men careless, and lull them to Sleep as it were, both as to Caution, and as to Industry: And are rightly call'd by *Demosthenes*, *The Baits of Sloth.* Again, we may plainly see the crafty and doubtful Nature of some Deeds, even of such as pass for Benefits, from that Particular, which *Mucianus* practis'd upon *Antonius Primus*; who after that hollow and unfaithful Reconcilement made with him, advanc'd abundance of *Antonius's* Friends, bestowing upon them Lieutenancies and Tribuneships. But by this Craft, he did not strengthen, but altogether disarm and desolate *Antonius*, by bringing over his Friendships to himself.

BUT the surest Key, to unlock the Minds of Men, turns in searching and getting thoroughly acquainted, either with their Dis-

E e 4 positions

positions and Natures, or their Ends and Intentions. And certainly the weaker and more simple Sort of Men are best interpreted by their Natures; but the Wiser and more Reserv'd are best expounded by their Ends. For it was wisely and pleasantly said (tho' in my Judgment not very truly) by a *Nuntio* of the Pope's, upon his Return from an Embassy in a certain Nation, where he had resided as Ambassador in Ordinary. Being ask'd about the Choice of a Successor, he gave Counsel, That they would by no means send one remarkably wise, but rather moderately so: *Because* (says he) *no one wiser than ordinary, will ever imagine, what they in that Country are like to do.* Certainly it is a frequent Error, and very familiar with wise Men, to measure other Men by the Model of their own Abilities; and so many Times to over-shoot the Mark, by supposing Men to project and design to themselves deeper Ends, and to practise more subtle Arts, than ever came into their Heads. Which the *Italian Proverb* elegantly notes, saying; *That there is commonly less Money, less Wisdom, less Honesty, than Men reckon upon.* Wherefore if we are to deal with Men of a mean and shallow Capacity, the Conjecture must be taken from the Propensions of their Nature, rather than from the Ends they may aim at. Furthermore, Princes also (but upon a far other Reason) are best judged of by their Natures; and private Persons by their Ends.

For

For Princes being at the top of Human Desires, have commonly no particular Ends propounded to themselves, whereto they aspire, especially with Vehemence and Perseverance; by the Site and Distance of which Ends, a Direction and Scale of the rest of their Actions may be taken and made; which is one of the chief Causes, *that their Hearts* (as the Scripture pronounces) *are inscrutable*. But private Persons are like Travellers, who intently go on aiming at some End of their Journey, where they may stay and rest; from whence a Man may make a good Conjecture, what they will, or will not do. For if any Thing conduce to their End, it is probable they will put the same in Execution; if it cross their End, not. Neither is the Information touching the Diversity of Men's Ends and Natures, to be taken only *simply*, but *comparatively* also: As namely, What has the Predominancy and Command over the rest. So we see, *Tigellinus*, when he saw himself out-stripped by *Petronius Turpilianus* in administering and suggesting Pleasures to *Nero*, *search'd into Nero's Fears*, (as *Tacitus* says) and by this Means broke the Neck of his Rival.

AS for the knowing of Men's Minds, at second Hand; namely, by the Relations of others; it shall suffice to say this in short. Defects and Faults are best learn'd from Enemies;

mies ; Virtues and Abilities, from Friends ; Customs and Times, from Servants ; Notions and Studies, from intimate Confidants, with whom they most commonly discourse. Popular Fame is light ; and the Judgments of Superiors uncertain. *The truest Reports come from Domeſticks : CIC.* But the most compendious Way to this whole Inquiry consists in three Things : The First, To have a general Acquaintance and Intimacy with such Men as have look'd most into the World, and have a general Knowledge of Things, and Persons : But especially to endeavour to have Privacy and Conversation with some particular Friends, who, according to the Diversity of Business and Persons, are able to give us solid Information, and good Intelligence in every several Kind. The Second is, To keep a good Mediocrity both in Liberty of Speech, and Taciturnity : In most Things Liberty : Taciturnity, where there's Occasion. For Liberty of Speech invites and provokes Liberty to be used again ; and so brings much to a Man's Knowledge : And Secrecy, on the other side, induces Trust and Intimacy, and makes Men love to lay up their Secrets with us, as in a Closet. The Last is the reducing of a Man's self to such a watchful and serene Habit, as in all Conferences, and Actions, both to carry on the Matter in hand, and at the same Time, to observe other Things that fall in by the By. For as *Epicetus* would have a
 Phi-

Philosopher in every particular Action to say to himself, *I will do this, and yet go on in my Course*; So a Politician in every particular Business should say to himself; *I both intend to do this, and to learn somewhat into the Bargain also, which may be of Use for the future.* And therefore those Men that over-do the Thing in hand, and are entirely taken up with the present Business, without so much as thinking of Matters that intervene, (a Weakness that *Montaigne* confesses in himself) such indeed are the best Ministers of Princes, but fail in Point of their own Fortune. I have dwelt the longer upon this Precept of obtaining good Information, because it is a main Part of it self, and answereth to all the rest. But above all Things, Caution must be taken, that Men have a good Stay, and Hold of themselves, and that this Much Knowing do not draw on Much Meddling: For nothing is more unfortunate than light and rash Intermeddling in many Matters: So that this various Knowledge of Things and Persons, which we advise to be procured, tends in Conclusion but to this: To make a more judicious Choice both of those Actions we undertake, and of those Persons, whose Assistance we use; that so we may know how to conduct all Things with more Dexterity, and less Error.

AFTER

AFTER the Knowledge of Others, follows the Knowledge of our selves. For no less Diligence, but rather more, is to be used, in taking a true and exact Information of our selves, than of others. For that Oracle, *Know your self*, is not only a Rule of universal Prudence, but has a special Place in Politicks too. For St. James excellently puts us in Mind; *That he that hath view'd his Face in a Glass, yet instantly forgets what Manner of Man he was*; so that there is great need of a frequent Inspection. And the same holds also in Politicks: But the Glasses indeed are different: For the Divine Glass, in which we ought to behold our selves, is the Word of God; but the Politick Glass is nothing else but the State of Things and Times wherein we live.

THEREFORE a Man ought to take an impartial View, (and not such as uses to be taken by one too much in Love with himself,) of his own Abilities, Virtues and Supports; as likewise of his Defects, Inabilities, and Impediments; casting up his Accounts in such Manner, that he ever estimate *These* with the most, *Those* rather with the least. And from such a View and Disquisition, the following Points may come into Consideration.

THE

THE first Consideration should be, how a Man's Constitution and Temper sorts with the Times ; which if they be found agreeable and fit, then in all Things he may give himself more Scope and Liberty, and indulge his own Temper ; but if there be any Antipathy and Dissonancy, then, in the whole Course of his Life, he must carry himself more cautiously and reservedly ; and appear less in Publick. So did *Tiberius*, who being conscious to himself that his Temper did not sort very well with his Times, was never seen at Publick Plays ; nay, for the last twelve Years successively he came not into the Senate : Whereas on the other Side, *Augustus* lived in Men's Eyes ; which *Tacitus* also observes ; *Alia Tiberio morum via ; But Tiberius was of another Humour.* The same Method he took also to secure himself from Dangers.

LET the second Consideration be, how a Man's Nature sorts with the Professions and Courses of Life, which are in Use and Esteem, and out of which he is to make his Choice ; that so if he be not resolv'd upon any way of Life, he may chuse that which is most fit and agreeable to his natural Disposition ; but if he be already engaged in a Condition of Life, to which he is not so well fitted by Nature, let him draw off upon the first Occasion, and take another Profession ; as we see was
done

done by Duke *Valentine*, that was bred by his Father to a Sacerdotal Profession, which nevertheless afterwards, in Compliance with the Bent of his Nature, he renounc'd, and applied himself to a Military Life; though equally unworthy the Dignity both of Prince and Priest, since the pestilent Man was a Disgrace to both.

LET the third Consideration be, How a Man stands, in Comparison with his Equals and Rivals, who are like to be his Competitors in his Fortune; and let him run that Course of Life, wherein there is the greatest Solitude; and in which himself is like to be most Eminent: As *Julius Caesar* did, who at first was an Orator, and Pleader, and was chiefly conversant in the Arts of Peace: But when he saw *Cicero*, *Hortensius*, and *Catulus*, to excel in the Glory of Eloquence, and no Man very famous for Military Affairs but *Pompey*; he forsook his Course begun, and bidding a Farewell to Civil and Popular Greatness, he went over to the Military, and Imperatorian Arts; by which he ascended to the Top of Sovereignty.

THE fourth Consideration may be, That in the Choice of Friends and Dependants, a Man consult his own Nature and Disposition: For a different Kind of Friends suits different Persons: The solemn and secret Kind, Some;
The

The bold and boasting, Others. Certainly it is worth the observing, what Kind of Friends *Julius Caesar's* were; (*Antony, Hirtius, Pansa, Oppius, Balbus, Dolabella, Pollio*, and the rest) These Men had this Form of Swearing, *So may I dye whilst Cæsar lives*; shewing an infinite Affection to *Cæsar*; towards all others Arrogant and Contemptuous: And they were Men, in Business, strenuous; in Fame and Reputation, nothing extraordinary.

THE fifth Consideration may be, That a Man take heed how he guide himself by Examples; and that he do not fondly affect the Imitation of others; as if that which others can go through, must needs be as open to him; never considering with himself, what Difference, perhaps, there is betwixt his and their Natures, whom he hath chosen for his Pattern. This was manifestly *Pompey's* Error, who, as *Cicero* records, was wont to say, *Sylla could do this, and can't I?* Wherein he deceiv'd himself hugely, the Natures and Proceedings of *Sylla* and Himself, being the unlikeliest in the World: The one being fierce, violent, and ever pressing the Fact; the other solemn, regardful of the Laws, directing all to Majesty and Fame; and therefore the less effectual and powerful to go through with his Designs. There are more Precepts of this Nature; but these shall suffice for Example to the rest.

NOR

NOR is the *Knowing of a Man's self* sufficient, but he must also consult with himself upon a Way how he may cleverly and prudently set forth and reveal himself, and, in fine, turn, and wind, and fashion himself to all Occasions. As for the setting himself forth, we see nothing more usual, than for the less able Man to make the greater Shew. Wherefore it is no small Gift of Prudence, for a Man to be able to set himself forth with a Kind of Art and Gracefulness; by aptly displaying his Virtues, Merits, and Fortune also, (as far as may be done without Arrogance or Nauseousness;) and again, in the artificial Covering of his Weaknesses, Defects, Misfortunes and Disgraces; dwelling upon *those*, and as it were turning them to the Light; seeking Excuses for *these*, or washing them away by an apt Interpretation, and the like. Therefore *Tacitus* says of *Mucianus*, who was the greatest Politick of his Time, and the most indefatigable in Business; *Omnium quæ diceret atq; ageret, Arte quadam Ostentator. He was one that had the Art to make the most Shew of whatsoever he spake or did.* This Affair requires indeed some Art, that it may not occasion Nauseousness and Contempt: Yet so, that some Kind of Ostentation (tho' to the first Degree of Vanity) seems rather a Vice in Morals, than in Politicks. For as it is usually said of Slander; *Slander boldly,*
somewhat

somewhat ever sticks : So may it be said of Ostentation, (unless it be in a ridiculous Degree of Deformity) *Boast stoutly, somewhat always sticks*. It will stick certainly with the People, though the more Wise smile at it. Therefore Reputation won with the Most, will easily countervail the Disdain of a Few. Now if this Ostentation of a Man's self, of which we are speaking, be managed with Decency and Discretion ; For Example, If it carry the Appearance of a native Candor and Ingenuity ; or if it be used at Times either of Danger, (as by Military Persons in Time of War) or when others are much envied ; or if the Words, which respect a Man's own Praise, seem to fall from a Man, as a Thing not principally intended, and without either insisting seriously, or dwelling too long upon them ; or if a Man so praise himself, as at the same Time not to forbear even Taxing, and Jestings upon himself ; or, finally, if he do it, not of himself, but as it were urg'd, and provok'd to it by the Insolencies and Contumelies of others : It certainly makes a great Addition to a Man's Reputation. And surely there are not a Few, who being more solid by Nature, and no Way windy ; and consequently wanting this Art of hoisting Sails to their Honour ; suffer for their Modesty, by some Loss of Reputation.

BUT for these Flourishes and Enhancements of Virtue, howsoever some of weaker Judgment, and perhaps too Moral, may disallow them; no Man will deny, but we should endeavour at least, that Virtue may not through Neglect be undervalued, and debased below its just Price. This Diminution of Value, in the rating of Virtue, is wont to happen three Ways: First, when a Man offers and obtrudes himself and Service in Matters of Business, uncall'd, unsent for: For such Offices are thought rewarded, if accepted. Secondly, when a Man in the Beginning and first Onset of a Business, exerts himself immoderately, and by doing too much, will not give that which is well done leave to settle; which wins an early Commendation, but in the End induces Satiety. Thirdly, when a Man is too quickly, and too lightly sensible of the Fruit of his Virtue, in Praise, Applause, Honour, Favour yielded him, and is too much affected and delighted therewith; concerning which Point there is a good Piece of Advice; *Beware lest you seem unacquainted with great Matters, that are thus pleas'd with a small Matter, as if it were great.*

BUT in Truth, a diligent Covering of Defects is of no less Importance, than a discreet and dextrous Ostentation of Virtues. Now Defects are concealed and hid chiefly by

by a threefold Industry, and as it were under three Covers; *Caution, Colour, and Confidence.* *Caution* is, when we prudently keep off from those Things, to which we are not equal: Whereas on the other hand, bold and unquiet Spirits will be thrusting themselves, without Judgment, into Matters that they are not used to; and so publish and as it were proclaim their own Defects. *Colour* is when we sagaciously and wisely prepare and make Way, to have a favourable and commodious Construction made of our Faults and Defects, as proceeding from another Cause, or tending to some other Purpose, than is generally conceiv'd. For as to the Covers of Faults, the Poet says well; *Many Times a Vice lies hid by its Nearness to a Virtue.* Wherefore if we perceive a Defect in our selves, our Endeavour must be to borrow the *Person and Colour* of the next bordering Virtue, under whose Shadow it may be conceal'd. For Instance; He that is *Dull*, must pretend *Gravity*; He that is a *Coward*, *Mildness*; and so for the rest. This also is of Use, to pretend and give out some plausible Cause, that induced us to forbear doing our best, and exerting our utmost Strength; that so what is not in our Power, may seem not to be in our Will to do. As for *Confidence*, it is indeed an impudent, but yet the surest and most effectual Remedy; Namely, For a Man to profess to despise utterly, and to set at nought, what in Truth he

is not able to attain; according to the Principle of wise Merchants, with whom it is familiar to raise the Price of their own Commodities, and to beat down that of others. But there is yet another Kind of Confidence, even more impudent than this; which is, to face out a Man's own Defects, to boast them and obtrude them upon Opinion, as if he conceiv'd that he was best in those Things, wherein he most fails; and in Order to put this Cheat upon others the more easily, to pretend a Diffidence of himself in those Things, wherein, in Truth, he is best: Like as we see it in Poets; For a Poet reciting his Verses, if you except against any particular Verse, he'll presently say; *And yet this Line cost me more Labour than any of the rest.* And then he'll bring ye some other Line, as tho' he suspected that himself, and ask your Judgment of it, which yet he knows well enough to be the best in the Number, and liable to no Exception at all. But above all, as to the present Business, *viz.* Of setting the fairest Gloss upon himself before others, and maintaining his Right in all Points, nothing, in my Judgment, avails more, than for a Man not to disarm, and expose himself to Injuries and Contumelies, by an excessive Goodness and Sweetness of Nature; but rather in all Things, to shoot out now and then some Sparks of a Spirit free and generous, and carrying with it as much Sting as Honey.

Which

Which Kind of fortified Carriage, together with a prompt and prepared Resolution to vindicate himself from Affronts, is imposed upon some Men by Accident, and a kind of Inevitable Necessity, by reason of somewhat inherent in their Person or Fortune; as it happens in deform'd Persons, and Bastards, and in Persons any way disgrac'd; upon which account, such Men, if they don't want Virtue, are commonly Successful.

AS for the declaring of a Man's self, that is a far different Thing from *the Ostentation of a Man's self*, whereof we spake just now. For it refers not to Men's *Virtues*, or *Defects*, but to the *particular Actions of Life*. In which Point, nothing is more Politick, than to observe a wise and discreet Mean in disclosing or concealing our Thoughts touching particular Actions. For altho' Profound Secrecy, and Concealing of Counsels, and that Manner of managing Business, which works all in the Dark, and (as the *French* speak) by *Sourd, menees* (*qualis est via navis in mari*, when Men set Things a work without opening themselves at all) be a Thing, sometimes most Prosperous, and to be admired; yet many times it comes to pass, That *Disimulation* (as the saying is) *begets Errors, and insnares the Dissembler himself*. For we see the greatest Politicians that ever were, have made no scruple of professing freely and with-

out Dissimulation the Ends they aimed at. Thus *L. Sylla* openly declared, *That he wish'd all Men Happy or Unhappy, as they were his Friends or Enemies.* So *Cæsar*, when he went first into *Gaul*, boldly profess'd, *That he had rather be First in an obscure Village, than Second at Rome.* The same *Cæsar*, when the War was now begun, did not play the Dissembler, if we hearken to what *Cicero* reports of him. *The other* (meaning *Cæsar*) refuses not, nay in a manner requires to be called (what he is) a Tyrant. In like manner we see in a Letter of *Cicero's* to *Atticus*, how far from a Dissembler *Augustus Cæsar* was; who in his very Entrance upon Affairs, when he was the Darling of the Senate, nevertheless was wont, in his Harangues to the People, to swear in this Form; *so may I attain the Honours of my Father.* And this was no less than Tyranny it self. It is true, to abate the Envy of the Thing a little, he us'd at the same Time to stretch forth his Hand to a Statue of *Julius Cæsar's*, which was erected in the *Rostræ*. And Men laugh'd and wonder'd and said, *Is it possible? Or did you ever bear the like?* And yet thought he meant no hurt, he did it so handsomly and ingenuously. And those that we have named were prosperous in all their Doings; *Pompey* on the other side, who tended to the same Ends, by Ways more shaded and obscure (as *Tacitus* says of him; *more Secret, but nothing better*: And

Sallust

Sallust concurs in the same Charge; Of a modest Countenance, but an immodest Mind :) Made it his entire Business, and endeavour'd by infinite Stratagems, hiding his Desires and Ambition deep, to reduce the Republick in the mean time to Anarchy and Confusion; to the End, she might of Necessity cast her self into his Arms; And so the Sovereign Power be devolv'd upon him, against his Will as it were, and Endeavours to the contrary. And when he thought he had gain'd his Point, being made *Consul* alone (which no one had ever been before) he was never the nearer yet; for this Reason, because those, that without Question would have co-operated with him, understood him not. So that he was forc'd in the End to go the beaten and common Track, *viz.* of getting Arms and an Army into his Hands, under Colour of opposing *Cæsar*. So slow, casual, hazardous, and commonly unfortunate are those Counsels, which are covered with profound Dissimulation! And *Tacitus* seems to have been of the same Sentiment in this Matter, when he determines the Artifices of *Simulation* to be a Wisdom of an inferior Form, in Comparison of *Political Arts*; attributing Those to *Tiberius*, These to *Augustus Cæsar*. For speaking of *Livia*, he saith thus; That she was a good Composition of the Arts of her Husband, and the Simulation of her Son. For surely the Continual Habit of Dissimulation is but a

weak and sluggish Cunning, and not greatly Politique.

AS to the bending and fashioning of the Mind; we must indeed endeavour with all our Might, that the Mind be made pliant and obedient to Occasions, and Opportunities, and that it be not any way stiff, or Refractory towards them. For nothing is a greater Hindrance to Business, or to the establishing of Men's Fortunes, than This: *Idem manebat, neque idem decebat*; That is, when Men continue the same, and follow their own Bent, tho' Occasions are chang'd. Therefore *Livy*, when he brings in *Cato Major*, as the expertest Architect of his Fortune, does well to annex this, that he had *Versatile ingenium*, a Wit that he could command, and turn any way. And hence it comes to pass, that grave and solemn Wits, and such as cannot Change, have generally more Dignity than Felicity. But this Weakness, is implanted in some Men by Nature, being of themselves disposed to be Viscous, and Knotty, and unapt to Turn. In others it has obtain'd by Custom (which is a second Nature) and from a Conceit, (which easily steals into Men's Minds) that they ought by no means to change a Course of Acting, which they have found good and prosperous by former Experience. For *Macchiavel* notes wisely in *Fabius Maximus*, that he was for keeping Tooth and Nail to his old inveterate

veterate Custom of Delaying, and Protracting the War, when the Nature of the War was altered, and required brisker Measures. Again, in others the same Weakness proceeds from Want of Judgment; when Men do not discern in time the Periods of Things and Actions; but turn too late, when the Opportunity is flipt. Some such Thing as this *Demosthenes* reprehends in his *Athenians*, saying, *That they are like Country-Fellows, playing in a Fencing-School, who after they have receiv'd a Blow, turn their Shield to the Guard of that Part, where they were struck, and not before.* In others again this comes to pass, because they are loth to lose the Labour, taken in that way, they have once enter'd into, nor do they know how to sound a Retreat; but rather trust to get the better of Occasions, by their Perseverance; and yet in the End, when they see no other Remedy, then they come to it with disadvantage, as *Tarquin* that gave for the third Part of *Sibylla's* Books the treble Price, when he might at first have had all three for the simple. But this Viscosity and Restiveness of Mind, from whatever Root it proceed, is most prejudicial to Business, and to Men's Fortunes: And nothing is more Politick than to make the Wheels of the Mind Concentrick and Voluble with the Wheels of Fortune. Thus much of the two Summary Precepts touching the *Articheckure* of Fortune. *Precepts Scattered* are many; but we will only

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ly select a few, to serve as Examples to the rest.

THE First *Precept* is, that this *Architect* of his Fortune use his Line and Rule skilfully, and apply it rightly; That is, that he accustom his Mind to estimate and rate the Price and Value of Things, in Proportion as they conduce, more or less, to his particular Fortune and Ends; and that he do this substantially, and not superficially. For we shall find the *Logical Part* (as I may term it) of some Men's Minds Good, but the *Mathematical Part* erroneous: That is, they can well judge of Consequences, but not of Proportions and Comparison, preferring Things of Shew and Sense before Things of Substance and Effect. So some fall in Love with access to Princes, others with popular Fame and Applause, supposing they are Things of great Purchase, when in many Cases they are but Matters of Envy, Peril, and Impediment. So some measure Things according to the Labour and Difficulty, or Assiduity, which are spent about them; and think if they are ever moving, that they must needs advance and proceed: As *Cæsar* said, contemptuously of *Cato Uticensis*, describing how laborious and indefatigable he was to no great purpose: *Hæc omnia magno studio agebat; All these Things he drove on with huge earnestness.* Hence likewise it comes to pass, that Men many times abuse them-

themselves in thinking, if they have the Favour and Furtherance of some Great and Honourable Person, all Things must succeed to their Desire ; whereas the Truth is, that not the *Greatest*, but the *Fittest* Instruments, soonest, and most happily accomplish a Work.

A N D for the true Direction of the *Mathematical Part of the Mind*, (that is, for the due marshalling of Men's Pursuits towards their Fortune, as they are more or less material) I hold the Order to be this. First, *the Amendment of their own Minds*. For the Remove of the Impediments of the Mind, will sooner clear the Passages of Fortune, than the Obtaining Fortune will remove the Impediments of the Mind. In the second Place, I set down *Wealth* and *Means* ; which perchance most Men would have placed first, because of the general use it bears towards all Variety of Occasions. But that Opinion I may condemn for the like Reason, that *Machiavel* doth in that other ; *That Money is the Sinews of War* ; whereas (saith he) the true *Sinews of War* are no other, than the *Sinews of Men's Arms*, that is, a Valiant, Populous, and Military Nation ; and he voucheth aptly the Authority of *Solon*, who when *Crasus* shewed him his Treasure of Gold, said to him, that if another came that had better Iron, he would be Master of his Gold. In like manner it may be truly affirmed, that it

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is not *Money* that is the *Sinews of Fortune*, but it is *the Sinews and Steel of Men's Minds*, Wit, Courage, Boldness, Resolution, Temper, Industry, and the like. In the third Place I set down *Reputation*, because of the peremptory Tides and Currents it hath, which if they be not taken in their due Time, are seldom recovered; it being extreme hard to play an After-Game of Reputation. And in the last place I set down *Honour*, which is more easily won by any of the other three, much more by all in Conjunction, than any of them can be purchased by *Honour*. To conclude this Precept, as there is Order and Priority in Matter, so is there in Time; the preposterous placing whereof is one of the commonest Errors; while Men fly to their Ends when they should intend their Beginnings: And do not take Things in Order of Time as they come on, but marshal them according to *Greatness*, and not according to *Instance*, not observing the good Precept,

Quod nunc instat, agamus.

Virg. Past. 9. 66.

Let us mind our Way,

Another Song requires another Day.

Dryd.

THE second Precept is, that we beware, how upon a sort of *Greatness and Presumption of Mind*, we engage in Matters too difficult; and that we do not Row against the Stream. For touching Men's Fortune, the Counsel is excellent,

Fatis

Fatis accede Deisq;

LET us look about us on every side, and observe where Things are open, where shut and obstructed, where easie, where difficult, and let us not misemploy our Strength, where the way is not passable. By doing thus, we shall both preserve our selves from being Foiled; we shall win the Opinion of Moderation; offend the fewer; and finally acquire an Opinion of Felicity; whilst those Things which perchance would of their own accord have come to pass, shall be attributed to our Industry.

THE third Precept may seem to clash a little with that immediately foregoing; though if well understood, not at all. It is this; That we do not always expect Occasions, but sometimes provoke them, and lead them the way. Which is also what *Demosthenes* intimates in high Terms. *And as it is a receiv'd Principle, that a General should lead his Army; so by Wise and Understanding Men Things themselves ought to be Led, so as that such Things be done, as they see fit to be done, and not themselves forc'd to follow Events only.* For, if we carefully attend it, we shall observe two differing Kinds of Sufficiency in managing Affairs, and handling Business. For some know how to make a dextrous use of Occasions, but
plot

plot and invent nothing of themselves ; others are all for Plots, but can't lay hold of Occasions, that fall in opportunely. Either of these Abilities, is very lame and imperfect, without the other.

A Fourth Precept is, to undertake Nothing, that must necessarily take up a great deal of Time ; but to have that Verse ever sounding in our Ears ;

*Sed fugit interea, fugit irreparable tempus :
But time is lost, which never will renew.*

Dryden.

And the Reason, why those who have addicted themselves to laborious Professions, as Lawyers, Orators, Learned Divines, Writers of Books, and the like ; are less Politick in building and promoting their own Fortunes ; is no other than this, that they want time (which is otherwise employ'd) to inform themselves of Particulars ; to wait upon Occasions, and to devise and project Designs tending to the making of their Fortune. Furthermore, in the Courts of Princes, and States, you will find those most expert in advancing their own Fortune, and invading that of Others, that are in no Publick Office ; but are perpetually taken up in this same *Advancement of Life*, that we are speaking of.

A Fifth Precept of this Knowledge, is to *Imitate Nature which doth nothing in vain*; Which surely a Man may do, if he does well Interlace his Business, and bend not his mind too much upon that which he principally intendeth. For a Man ought in every particular Action, so to carry the motions of his Mind, and so to have one thing under another, as if he cannot have that he seeketh in the best Degree, yet to have it in a second, or even in a third: And if he can get no Footing at all in the thing he purposes, then to turn the Pains he has taken upon some other End, than that whereto it was design'd: and if he cannot make any thing of it for the present, yet to make it as a Seede of somewhat in time to come: And if he can derive no solid Effect or Substance from it, neither for the present nor for the future, yet to win some good Opinion and Reputation by it, and the like: So that he should exact an Account of himself of every particular Action, to reap somewhat from it, and not to stand amaz'd and confused, if he fail in the principal Scope of his Intentions: For nothing is more Impolitique than to be wholly and solely taken up with one thing. For he that is so, loses infinite Occasions which intervene, and are many times more proper and propitious for somewhat that he shall need afterwards, than for that which he urgeth for the present; and therefore

fore Men must be perfect in that Rule: *Hæc opertet facere, & illa non omittere.*

A Sixth Precept of this Knowledge is, not to engage a Man's self peremptorily in any thing, though it may seem at first sight not very liable to Accident, but ever to have a Window to fly out at, or a way to Retire; following the Wisdom in the antient Fable of the two Frogs which consulted when their Plash was dry, whither they should go: And the one moved to go down into a Pit, because it was not likely the Water would dry there; but the other answer'd, *True, but if it do, how shall we get out again?*

A Seventh Precept of this Knowledge, is that antient Precept of *Bias*, construed not to any Point of Perfidiousness, but only to Caution and Moderation: *Both Love as tho' you were to Hate, and Hate, as tho' you were to Love:* For it utterly betrays all Utility, for Men to imbarque themselves too far into unfortunate Friendships, troublesome Spleens, and humorous Envies or Emulations.

BUT I continue this beyond the Measure of an Example, induc'd thereto, for that I would not have such Knowledges which I note as *Deficient*, to be thought Things Imaginative, or in the Air; or an Observation or two much made of; but Things of Bulk and Mass, whereof

whereof an End is hardlier made, than a Beginning. It must be likewise remembred, that these Sketches which we have made of *Deficients*, are far from compleat Treatises, but only as small Pieces for Patterns. And lastly, no Man I suppose will think, that I mean Fortunes are not obtain'd without all this ado; For I know they come tumbling into some Men's Laps, and a Number obtain good Fortunes by Diligence, in a plain way, little intermeddling, and keeping themselves from gross Errors.

BUT as *Cicero*, when he setteth down an *Idea* of a perfect Orator, doth not mean that every Pleader should be such; And so likewise, when a Prince or a Courtier hath been described by such as have handled those Subjects, the Mould hath used to be made according to the Perfection of the Art, and not according to common Practice: So I understand it, that it ought to be done in the Description of a *Politique* Man; I mean *Politique* for his own Fortune.

BUT it must be remembred all this while, that the Precepts which we have set down, are all of that Kind, which may be counted and called *Good Arts*. For as to *Evil Arts*, if a Man yield himself a Disciple to *Machiavel*, who gives it in Precept; *That a Man need*

not much trouble himself about *Virtue* it self, but only the Appearance of it in the Eye of the World: Because the Fame and Credit of *Virtue* is a Furtherance to a Man, but *Virtue* it self a Cumber; and who in another Place gives this Rule; That a Politician lay down this as a Foundation of his Practick Wisdom; that he presuppose, that Men can't rightly and safely be bent and brought to our Will, otherwise than by Fear; and therefore that he use his utmost Endeavours, to have all Men Obnoxious, and in Dangers, and Streights; So that his Politician seems to be what the Italians call *ill seminare delle spine*, a Thorn-Sower: Or if a Man would embrace that Principle, Cited by Cicero; Let our Friends fall, provided our Enemies perish; as the *Triumviri* did, who Sold the Lives of their Friends, for the Deaths of their Enemies: Or if a Man would be an Imitator of *L. Catiline*, to become an Incendiary and Disturber of States, to the End, he may fish better in troubled Waters, and clear his Fortunes; I (says he) if a Fire be rais'd in my Fortunes, will extinguish it not with Water, but Ruin: Or if any one would convert to his use that of *Lysander*, who was wont to say; That Children are to be deceiv'd with Comfits, and Men with Oaths; and the like corrupt and pernicious Positions; whereof (as in all other Things) there are more in Number, than of

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the good and sound; if any Man (I say) be delighted with such polluted Wisdom; I deny not but such an one, dispensing with all the Laws of Charity and Virtue, and being wholly enslaved to the pressing his Fortune, may with more compendiousness and speed advance it. But it is in Life, as it is in Ways, the shortest Way is commonly the foulest and dirtiest; nor indeed is the fairest Way much about.

BUT Men should be so far from applying themselves to such corrupt and crooked Arts, that rather indeed they ought to set before their Eyes, not only that general Map of the World, *That all Things are Vanity and Vexation of Spirit*; but also many other more particular Directions, viz. *That Being it self, without well-Being is a Curse; and the Greater the Being, the Greater the Curse; And, That the highest Reward of Virtue, is Virtue her self; as also the severest Punishment of Vice, is Vice it self*; according to what the Poet says excellently;

*Quæ vobis, quæ digna Viri, pro talibus ausis
Præmia posse rear solvi? Pulcherrima primum
Dii Moresq; dabunt vestri.*

Virg. *Æn.* 9. 217, &c.

*Ye brave Young Men, what equal Gifts can we,
In recompence of such Desert, decree?
The greatest, sure, and best you can receive,
The Gods, and your own Conscious Worth will
give. Dryden.*

NAY further, whilst Men are turning and tossing their Thoughts every Way, how they may best consult their Advancement in the World, they ought, in the midst of these Workings of Thought, to look up to the divine Judgments, and eternal Providence, which very often subverts and brings to nought the Machinations, and evil Counsels (tho' never so profound) of the Wicked; according to that of Scripture; *He hath conceived Iniquity, and shall bring forth a vain Thing.* Nay, tho' Men should refrain from Injury and Evil Arts, yet this restless, incessant, and as it were Sabbathless Aspiring to the Heights of Fortune, pays not the Tribute of our Time due unto God: Who (as we may see) demands and sets apart for himself a Tenth of our Substance, and a Seventh of our Time. For to what purpose were it, to have an erected Face towards Heaven, and a Spirit groveling upon Earth, and eating Dust like the Serpent? An Observation which even the Heathen could make;

Atq; affligit humo Divinae particulam Auræ.

AND

AND if any Man should herein flatter himself; that he resolves to employ his Fortune well, tho' he should obtain it ill; as was wont to be said of *Augustus Caesar*, and *Septimius Severus*; *That either they should never have been Born, or never have dyed*: They did so much Mischief in the Pursuit of their Fortune; and so much Good, when they were at the Top of it; let him take this with him, that such Compensation of Evil by Good, may be allowed after the Fact; but is deservedly condemn'd in the Purpose. Lastly, it would not be amiss for us, in that swift and hot Race towards our Fortune, to cool our selves a little, with that Elegant Conceit of the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*, in his Instructions to his Son; *That Fortune has something of the Nature of Women, that for the most Part scornfully turn off humble Servants that are too eager in their Courtship*. But this last Remedy is for those, whose Taste, from some Distemper of Mind, is corrupted. Let Men rather Build upon that Foundation, which is as the Corner-Stone of Divinity and Philosophy, which assert the same Thing in a manner touching that which ought to be first sought; for Divinity saith, *First seek ye the Kingdom of God, and all these Things shall be added unto you*; and Philosophy commands somewhat like this; *Seek first the Goods of the*
G g 3 *Mind*

Mind, and the rest shall be supplied, or their Absence shall not be Prejudicial. And altho' the Human Foundation is somewhat Sandy, as we see in M. Brutus, who brake forth into that Speech ;

I reverenc'd Thee, O Virtue, as a Thing, but Thou art an Empty Name : Yet the Divine Foundation is settled upon a Rock. And here we conclude the Doctrine of the Course of Life for Advancement in the World.

C H A P. XXIX.

Of Inspired Divinity.

De Augmentis Scientiarum.

Lib. 9. Cap. 1.



THE Prerogative of God comprehends the whole Man ; and extends as well to the *Reason*, as to the *Will of Man* ; To the End, that Man may renounce himself wholly, and draw near unto God. Wherefore, as we are to obey the Divine Law, tho' we find a Reluctancy in our *Will* ; So are we to believe the Word of God, tho' we find a Reluctancy in our *Reason*. For if we believe only that which is agreeable to our *Reason*, we give Assent to the *Matter*, not to the *Author* ; Which is no more than we would do towards a suspected and discredited Witness. But *that Faith* Gen. 18. *which was accounted to Abraham for Righteousness*, was of such a Point, as was

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that,

that, at which *Sarah* laugh'd ; Who therein was an Image of Natural Reason. By how much therefore any Divine Mystery is more discordant, and incredible, so much the more Honour is given to God in Believing it, and the *Victory of our Faith* becomes the more Noble. Nay even Sinners, the more they are oppress'd in Conscience, yet if they repose a Trust in the Mercy of God for their Salvation, do by this so much the greater Honour to God ; for all Despair is a Reproach of the Deity.

FURTHERMORE (if we consider the Thing aright) more worthy it is to *Believe* than to *Know* ; As we now *Know*. For in *Knowledge* Man's Mind suffers from Sense, which results from Things Material ; but in *Belief* the Spirit suffers from Spirit, and such an one as it holdeth far more authorised than it self, and so suffers from the worthier Agent.

The Case is otherwise in the *State of*
 1 Cor. 13. *Glory ; for then Faith shall cease, and we shall Know, as we are Known.*

WHEREFORE we may conclude, that Sacred Theology must be drawn from the Word and Oracles of God, not from the Light of Nature, or the Dictates of Reason. For it is written, *The Heavens declare the*
 Psal. 19. *Glory of God :* But we find it nowhere written ; *The Heavens declare*

clare the Will of God. Of this it is pronounc'd, *Ad legem & testimonia ; si non fecerint secundum verbum illud, &c.* Nor does this hold only in those Great Mysteries of the Deity, of the Creation, of the Redemption, but appertains also to the Law Moral truly Interpreted: *Love your Enemies ; Do good to them that hate you, &c. That you may be the Children of your Heavenly Father, who sendeth his Rain upon the Just and Unjust.* Mat. 5.

Which Words certainly deserve that
*Applause, *Nec vox hominem sonat :* For it is a Voice beyond the Light of Nature. So we see the Heathen Poets, especially when they speak Pathetically, still Expostulate with Laws and Moral Doctrines (which are yet far more free and indulgent than Divine Laws) as if in a kind of malignity they opposed Nature ;

—*Et quod Natura remittit
Invida Jura negant.*—

SO Dendamis the Indian to Alexander's Messengers ; *That he had heard indeed somewhat of the Name of Pythagoras, and some other of the wise Men of Greece ; And that he believed them Great Men ; but that they had one Fault, which was, that they had in too great Reverence and Veneration, a certain Imaginary Thing which they called Law and Manners.* So it must be confessed, that a great part of the Law Moral is of that Perfection, where-

whereunto the Light of Nature cannot aspire: Notwithstanding, what is said, That Men have, even from the Light and Law of Nature, some Notions of Virtue, Vice, Justice, Wrong, Good, Evil; that is very true. For it is to be noted, that the Light of Nature is taken in two Senses. *First*, As it springs from Sense, Induction, Reason, Argument, according to the Laws of Heaven and Earth: *Secondly*, As it is imprinted and shines upon the Spirit of Man by an inward Instinct, according to the Law of Conscience; which is a kind of Spark, and the Relicks as it were, of his former and primitive Purity. In which latter Sense chiefly, the Soul participates of some Light to behold and discern the Perfection of the Moral Law; which Light however is not altogether clear, but of such sort, as to check the Vice rather, than fully to inform the Duty. So then the Doctrine of Religion, as well Moral as Mystical, depends upon Divine Revelation.

THE Use notwithstanding of Human Reason in Spiritual Things, and the Latitude thereof is very great and general. For it is not for nothing, that the Apostle calls Religion, *our reasonable Service of God*. Nay, the very Ceremonies and Figures of the Old Law were full of Reason and Signification, much more than the Ceremonies of Idolatry, and Magick, which were Surd and Mute, teaching

teaching nothing, no not so much as insinuating any thing. But the Christian Faith, as in all Things, so particularly in this, deserves to be highly magnified, that it holds and preserves the Golden-mediocrity, as to the Use of Reason, and Disputation (which is the Offspring of Reason) between the Law of the *Heathen* and the Law of *Mahomet*, which have embraced the two Extremes. For the Religion of the *Heathen* had no constant Belief or Confession, but left all to the Liberty of Argument: And the Religion of *Mahomet* on the other side, interdicteth Argument altogether; the one having the very Face of Errour; the other of Imposture; whereas the Christian Faith doth both admit and reject Disputation, but according to due Bounds.

THE Use of Human Reason in Matters pertaining to Religion is of two Sorts; The one, in the Conception and Apprehension of the Mysteries of God to us revealed; The other, in the Inferring and Deriving of Doctrine and Direction thereupon. As to the Conception of the Mysteries, we see God vouchsafes to descend to the Weakness of our Capacity, so expressing and unfolding his Mysteries, as they may best be comprehended by us; and grafting as it were his Revelations, and Holy Doctrine, upon the Conceptions and Notions of our Reason; and so applying his Inspirations to open our Understanding, as the
Form

Form of the Key is fitted to the Ward of the Lock. In which respect notwithstanding, we ought not to be wanting to our selves: For since God himself makes use of the Means of our Reason in his Illuminations, we ought also to exercise and turn the same every way, whereby we may become more capable to receive and imbibe the Holy Mysteries; with this Caution, that the Mind be dilated, according to its Model, to the Amplitude of the Mysteries; and not the Mysteries streightened and contracted to the narrowness of the Mind.

A S for Inferences, we ought to know, that there is allowed us a Use of Reason, and Argumentation (as to Mysteries) Secondary and Respective, tho' not Original and Absolute. For after the Articles and Principles of Religion are once placed, and wholly exempted from the Examination of Reason; it is then permitted unto us to make Deductions and Inferences from them, and according to the Analogy of them, for our better Direction. In Things Natural indeed this holds not. For both the Principles themselves are examinable, by Induction, tho' not by Syllogism: And besides, those Principles or first Positions have no Repugnancy with that Reason, which draws down and deduces the Inferior Positions. The Case is otherwise in Religion; Where both the first Propositions are their
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own Supporters, and subsist by themselves ; And again, they are not regulated by that Reason, which deduces the consequent Propositions. Nor does this hold in Religion alone, but in other Sciences also, both of greater and smaller Nature ; namely wherein there are not only *Posita* but *Placita* ; for in such also there can be no use of absolute Reason. We see it familiarly in Games of Wit, as Chess, or the like ; The Draughts or first Laws of the Game are Positive : but How ? Merely *ad placitum*, and not examinable by Reason ; But then how to direct our Play thereupon with best Advantage to win the Game, is Artificial and Rational. So in Human Laws, there are many Grounds and Maxims, which are *Placita Juris*, Positive upon Authority and not upon Reason, and therefore not to be disputed : But what is most just, not absolutely, but relatively, and according to the Analogy of those Maxims, That affordeth a large Field of Disputation. Such therefore is that Secondary Reason, which hath place in Divinity, which is grounded upon the *Placits* of God.

AND as there is a double Use of Human Reason in Matters Divine, so in the same Use also, there is a double Excess. The One, when too curious an Inquiry is made into the Manner of the Mystery ; The Other, when as great Authority is attributed to Inferences,

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as to Principles. For both He may seem to be a Disciple of *Nicodemus*, who per-
 Joan 3. 4. tinaciously inquires, *How can a Man be Born when he is old?* And he can in no wise be accounted a Disciple of *St. Paul*, that does not sometimes insert in his Doctrines; *I, not the Lord*; Or That;
 1 Cor. 7. *According to my Judgment.* For that Stile suits well most Inferences. But Men are now too ready to usurp the Stile, *Non ego, sed Dominus*, and not only so, but to bind it with the Thunder and Denunciation of *Curses*, and *Anathema's*, to the terror of those who have not sufficiently learnt out of *Solomon*, that *the causeless Curse shall not come.* Wherefore to my Understanding it would be a wholesom and very useful Course, if there were a sober and diligent Treatise compiled, which is a Kind of Divine Dialectick, might give Directions concerning *The true Limits and Use of Reason in Spiritual Things*; Which would be a Kind of Opiate Medicine, not only to quiet and lay asleep the Vanity of Curious Speculations, wherewith the Schools labour, but likewise to calm and mitigate the Fury of Controversies, wherewith the Church labours. For it cannot but open Men's Eyes to see that many Controversies do merely pertain to that which is either not Revealed, or Positive, and that many others do grow upon weak and obscure Inferences or Deductions. A Treatise of this Nature we set down as Deficient,

ficient, and Term it *Sopbron*, or, *The Right Use of Human Reason in Matters Divine*.

2. IT Imports exceedingly the Peace of the Church, that the League of Christians, prescribed by our Saviour, in those two Clauses, which seem a little Contradictory, be well and clearly expounded: whereof the One defines thus; *He that is not with us, is against us*: The Other thus; *He that is not against us, is with us*. Mat. 12. 30. Mar. 9. 40. From hence it plainly appears, That there are some Articles, wherein whosoever dissents, is to be esteemed as out of the League: And others, wherein a Man may dissent, without breaking the League. For the Bonds of Christian Communion are set down; *One Faith, One Baptism, &c.* and not, *One Rite, One Opinion*. Thus we see the Coat of our Saviour was *entire without seam*, and so is the Doctrine of the Scriptures in it self: But the Garment of the Church was of *divers Colours*, and yet not divided. The Chaff may and ought to be severed from the Corn in the Ear; But the Tares must not be pulled from the Corn in the Field. When Moses saw the *Israelite and Egyptian* fighting, he did not say, *Why strive you?* but drew his Sword, and slew the *Egyptian*: But when he saw the two *Israelites* fight,

fight, he said, *You are Brethren, why strive you?* So that it is a Thing of great moment and use well to define, what, and of what Latitude those Points are, which disincorporate Men from the Body of the Church, and cast them out, and quite cashier them from the Communion and Fellowship of the Faithful. Now if any one think this has been done long ago, let him well consider, with what Sincerity and Moderation. In the mean time it is likely, that he that makes mention of *Peace* will receive *Jehu's* Answer to the Messenger (*Is it Peace Jehu?*) *What hast thou to do with Peace? Turn and follow me.* Peace is not the Thing that most People love, but Party. Notwithstanding I thought good to set down amongst *Deficients*, as a wholesom and profitable Work, a Treatise of the *Degrees of Unity in the City of God.*

3. SEEING the Parts of Holy Scripture, as to the Information of Theology, are so great, we ought especially to consider their Interpretation. Nor do we here speak of the *Authority* of Interpreting them, which is established in the Consent of the Church, but of the *Manner* of Interpreting them. . This is of two Sorts; *Methodical*, and *Solute*, or at large. For these divine Waters, which infinitely excel those of *Jacob's* Well, are drawn forth much in the same manner, as Natural Waters use to be out of Wells; which are either forced

forced up into a Cistern, and so convey'd and derived by Pipes for Publick and Private Use; or else are drawn and received in Buckets and Vessels immediately where they spring, to be used out of hand, as Occasion requires. The former sort whereof, tho' it seem to be the more ready, yet in my Judgment is more subject to Corrupt. This is that Method which hath exhibited unto us the Scholastical Divinity, whereby Divinity hath been reduc'd into an Art, as into a Cistern; and the Streams of Axioms and Positions, derived and distributed from thence into all Parts.

IN this, Men have sought three Things, a Summary *Brevity*, a compacted *Strength*, and a compleat *Perfection*: The two first of which they fail to find, and the last they ought not to seek. For as to *Brevity*, we see in all Summary Methods, while Men purpose to abridge, they give cause to dilate. For the Sum or Abridgment by Contraction becomes Obscure, the Obscurity requires Exposition, and the Exposition is deduced into large Commentaries, or into Common Places, and Titles, which grow to be more vast than the Original Writings, whence the Sum was at first extracted. So we see the Volumes of the School-Men are greater much than the first Writings of the Fathers, whence the Master of the Sentences made his Sum or Collectio. So in like manner the Volumes of the

Modern Doctors of the Civil Law exceed those of the antient Jurisconsults, of which *Tribonian* compiled the Digest. So that this Course of Sums and Commentaries is that which doth infallibly make the Body of Sciences more immense in Quality, and more base in Substance.

AND for *Strength*, it is true, that Knowledges reduced into exact Methods have a shew of Strength, in that each Part seems to support and sustain the other: But this is more Satisfactory than Substantial, like unto Buildings, which stand by Architecture, and Compaction, which are more subject to Ruin, than those that are Built more strong in their several Parts, tho' less Compacted. But it is plain, that the more you recede from your Grounds, the weaker do you conclude; and as in Nature, the more you remove your self from Particulars, the greater Peril of Error you do incur: So, much more in Divinity, the more you recede from the Scriptures by Inferences and Consequences, the more weak and dilute are your Positions.

AND as for *Perfection*, or *Compleatness* in Divinity, it is not to be sought, which makes this Course of Artificial Divinity the more suspect. For he that will reduce a Knowledge into an Art, will make it round and uniform: But in Divinity many Things
must

must be left abrupt, and concluded with this: *O the Depth of the Wisdom and Knowledge of God, how unfathomable are his Judgments, and his Ways untraceable!* So again the Apostle saith, *We know in Part*; and to have the Form of a Total, where there is but Matter for a Part, cannot be without Supplies by Supposition and Presumption. And therefore I conclude, that the true Use of these Sums and Methods hath place in Institutions or Introductions, preparatory unto Knowledge: but in them, or by Deducement from them, to handle the main Body and Substance of a Knowledge, is in all Sciences prejudicial, and in Divinity dangerous.

A S to the Interpretation of the Scriptures *Solute* and at large, there have been divers Kinds introduced and devised, some of them rather curious and unsafe, than sober and warranted. Notwithstanding thus much must be confessed, that the Scriptures being given by Inspiration, and not by Human Reason, do differ from all other Books in the Author: which by Consequence doth draw on some Difference to be used by the Expositor. For the Inditer of them did know four Things, which no Man attains to know; which are the Mysteries of the Kingdom of Glory; the Perfection of the Laws of Nature; the Secrets of the Heart of Man; and the future Succession of all Ages. For as to the first, it

is said, *He that presseth into the Light, shall be oppressed of the Glory.* And again, *No Man shall see my Face and live.* To the Second, *When he prepared the Heavens I was present, when by Law and Compass he enclosed the Deep.* To the Third, *Neither was it needful that any should bear witness to him of Man, for he knew well what was in Man.* And to the last, *From the Beginning are known to the Lord all his Works.*

FROM the former two of these have been drawn certain Senses and Expositions of Scriptures, which had need be contained within the Bounds of Sobriety; The one *Anagògical*, and the other *Philosophical*. But as to the former, Man is not to prevent his Time; *Videmus nunc per speculum in Ænigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem*; wherein nevertheless there seemeth to be a Liberty granted, as far as to the polishing of this Glass, or some moderate Explication of this *Ænigma*. But to press too far into it, cannot but cause a Dissolution and Overthrow of the Spirit of Man. For in the Body there are three Degrees of that we receive into it; *Aliment*, *Medicine*, and *Poyson*; whereof *Aliment* is that, which the Nature of Man can perfectly alter and overcome; *Medicine* is that, which is partly converted by Nature, and partly converteth Nature; and *Poyson* is that which worketh wholly upon Nature, so as that Nature can-

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not in any part work upon that. So in the Mind, whatsoever Knowledge Reason cannot at all work upon and convert, is a mere Intoxication, and indangers a Dissolution of the Mind and Understanding. But for the Latter, it hath been extremely set on Foot of late Time by the School of *Paracelsus*, and some others, that have pretended to find the Truth of all Natural Philosophy in the Scriptures; scandalizing and traducing all other Philosophy, as Heathenish and Profane. But there is no such Enmity between God's Word, and his Works. Neither do they give Honour to the Scriptures, as they suppose, but embase them. For to seek Heaven and Earth in the Word of God, (whereof it is said, *Heaven and Earth shall pass, but my Word shall not pass*) is to seek Temporal Things amongst Eternal; And as to seek Divinity in Philosophy, is to seek the Living amongst the Dead; So to seek Philosophy in Divinity, is to seek the Dead amongst the Living. Neither are the *Pots* or *Lavers*, whose Place was in the outward part of the Temple, to be sought in the Holiest Place of all, where the Ark of the Testimony was Seated. And again, the Scope or Purpose of God, is not to express Matters of Nature in the Scriptures, otherwise than in Passage, and for application to Man's Capacity, and to Matters Moral or Divine. And it is a true Rule, *Authoris aliud*

agentis parva autoritas. For it were a strange Conclusion, if a Man should use a Similitude for Ornament or Illustration sake, borrowed from Nature or History, according to vulgar Conceit, as of a *Basilisk*, an *Unicorn*, a *Centaur*, a *Briareus*, an *Hydra*, or the like, that therefore he must needs be thought to affirm the Matter thereof positively to be true. To conclude therefore, these two Interpretations, the one by Reduction or *Ænigmatical*, the other Philosophical or Physical, which have been received and pursued in imitation of the *Rabbins* and *Cabalists*, are to be confined with a *Noli altum sapere, sed time.*

BUT the two latter Points known to God, and unknown to Man; *Touching the Secrets of the Heart, and the Successions of Time*; do make a just and sound difference between the manner of the Exposition of the Scriptures, and all other Books. For it is an excellent Observation, which hath been made upon the Answers of our Saviour Christ, to many of the Questions which were propounded to him, how that they are impertinent to the State of the Question demanded; the Reason whereof is, because not being like Man, who knows Man's Thoughts by his Words, but knowing Man's Thoughts immediately, he never answer'd their Words, but their Thoughts. Much in the like manner it is
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with the Scriptures, which being written to the Thoughts of Men, and to the Succession of all Ages, with a foresight of all Heresies, Contradictions, differing Estates of the Church, yea, and particularly of the Elect, are not to be interpreted only according to the Latitude of the proper Sense of the Place, and respectively towards that present Occasion, whereupon the Words were uttered; or in precise Congruity or Contexture with the Words before or after, or in Contemplation of the principal Scope of the Place, but have in themselves not only totally, or collectively, but distributively in Clauses and Words, infinite Springs and Streams of Doctrine to water the Church in every part, and therefore as the Literal Sense is, as it were the main Stream or River: So the Moral Sense chiefly, and sometimes the *Allegorical* or *Typical* are they whereof the Church hath most use: Not that I wish Men to be bold in *Allegories*, or *Indulgent*, or light in Allusions; but that I do much condemn that Interpretation of the Scripture, which is only after the manner as Men use to interpret a Profane Book.

I N this Part touching the Exposition of the Scriptures, I can report no Deficiency; but by way of remembrance this I will add; In perusing Books of Divinity, I find many Books of Controversies, and many of Common Places

and Treatises, a Mass of positive Divinity, as it is made an Art: a Number of Sermons and Lectures, and many prolix Commentaries upon the Scriptures with Harmonies and Concordances. But that Form of Writing in Divinity, which in my Judgment is of all others most rich and pretious, is positive Divinity collected upon particular Texts of Scripture in brief Observations, not dilated into Common Places, not chasing after Controversies, not reduced into Method of Art; a Thing abounding in Sermons, which will vanish, but defective in Books which will remain, and a Thing wherein this Age excelleth. For I am perswaded, and I may speak it with an *Absit invidia verbo*, and no ways in derogation of Antiquity, but as in a good Emulation between the Vine and the Olive; That if the Choice, and best of those Observations upon Texts of Scriptures which have been made dispersedly in Sermons, in the space of these Forty Years and more (leaving out the Largeness of Exhortations and Applications thereupon) had been set down in a Continuance, it had been the best Work of Divinity, which had been written since the Apostles Times. And certainly as Wines, which at the first Treading run gently, are pleasanter, than those forc'd by the Wine-Press; (for these Taste of the Stone and Skin of the Grape;) So those Doctrines are exceeding wholesom
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and sweet, which flow from Scriptures gently press'd, and are not wrested to Controversies, or Common Places. Such a Treatise we will term *the Emanations of Scripture into Positive Doctrines.*

Of the Matter of Divinity.

4. THE Matter informed or revealed by Divinity is of two Kinds, Matter of Belief, and Truth of Opinion: And Matter of Service and Adoration; which is also judged and directed by the former; The One being as the internal Soul of Religion, and the Other as the external Body thereof. And therefore the Heathen Religion was not only a Worship of Idols, but the whole Religion was an Idol in it self, for it had no Soul, that is, no Certainty of Belief or Confession, as a Man may well think, considering the chief Doctors of the Church were the Poets, and the Reason was, because the Heathen Gods were not jealous Gods, but were glad to be admitted into part, as they had Reason. Neither did they respect Purity of Heart, so they might have external Honour and Rites.

BUT out of these two do result and issue four main Branches of Divinity; *Faith, Manners, Liturgy, and Government.* *Faith* contains

tains the Doctrine of the Nature of God, of the Attributes of God, and of the Works of God. The Nature of God consisteth of three Persons in Unity of Godhead. The Attributes of God are common to the Deity, or respective to the Persons. The Works of God Summary are two, that of the *Creation*, and that of the *Redemption*. And both these Works, as in Total they appertain to the Unity of the Godhead; So in their Parts they refer to the three Persons: That of the *Creation* in the Mass of the Matter, to the Father; in the Disposition of the Form, to the Son; and in the Continuance and Conservation of the Being, to the Holy Spirit: So That of the *Redemption*, in the Election and Counsel, to the Father; in the whole Act and Consummation, to the Son; and in the Application, to the Holy Spirit: For by the Holy Ghost was Christ conceived in Flesh, and by the Holy Ghost are the Elect regenerate in Spirit. This Work likewise we consider either effectually in the Elect, or privately in the Reprobate, or according to the Appearance in the Visible Church.

FOR *Manners*, the Doctrine thereof is contained in the Law, which discloseth Sin. The Law it self is divided according to the Edition of thereof, into the Law of Nature, the Law Moral, and the Law Positive; and accord-

according to the Stile, into Negative and Affirmative, Prohibitions and Commandments. Sin in the Matter and Subject thereof, is divided according to the Commandments; in the Form thereof, it referreth to the three Persons in Deity; Sins of Infirmitie against the Father, whose more special Attribute is Power: Sins of Ignorance against the Son, whose Attribute is Wisdom: And Sins of Malice against the Holy Ghost, whose Attribute is Grace or Love. In the Motions of it, it either moveth to the Right Hand, or to the Left; either to blind Devotion, or to profane and libertine Transgression, either in imposing Restraint, where God granteth Liberty, or in taking Liberty, where God imposeth Restraint. In the Degrees and Progress of it, it divideth it self into Thought, Word, or Act. And in this Part I commend much the diducing of the Law of God to Cases of Conscience, for that I take indeed to be a breaking, and not exhibiting whole, of the Bread of Life. But that which quickneth both these Doctrines of *Faith* and *Manners* is, the Elevation and Consent of the Heart, whereunto appertain Books of Exhortation, Holy Meditation, Christian Resolution, and the like.

FOR the Liturgy or Service, it consisteth of the Reciprocal Acts between God and Man, which on the Part of God, are the Preaching of the Word, and the Sacraments, which are
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Seals to the Covenant, or as the Visible Word: And on the Part of Man, Invocation of the Name of God, and under the Law, Sacrifices, which were as Visible Prayers or Confessions, but now the Adoration being *in Spirit and Truth*, there remain only *the Calves of the Lips*, altho' the use of Holy Vows of Thankfulness and Retribution, may be accounted also as sealed Petitions.

AND for the Government of the Church, it consisteth of the Patrimony of the Church, the Franchises of the Church, and the Offices, and the Jurisdictions of the Church, and the Laws of the Church directing the Whole. All which have two Considerations; the One in themselves; the Other, how they stand compatible and agreeable to the Civil State. This *Matter* of Divinity is handled either in Form of Instruction of Truth: or in Form of Confutation of Falsehood. The Declinations from Religion, besides the Primitive, which is Atheism and the Branches thereof, are three, *Heresies*, *Idolatrie*, and *Witch-craft*: *Heresies*, when we serve the true God with a false Worship: *Idolatrie*, when we Worship false Gods, supposing them to be true: And *Witch-craft*, when we adore false Gods, knowing them to be wicked and false. For *Witch-craft* is the height of *Idolatrie*. And yet we see tho' those be true Degrees, *Samuel* teacheth us that they are all of a Nature, when there is once a receding from the
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the Word of God, for he saith, *Quasi peccatum ariolandi est repugnare, & quasi seclus Idolatriæ nolle acquiescere.*

THESE Things I have passed over so briefly, because I can report no Deficiency concerning them: For I can find no Space or Ground that lieth vacant and unsown in the *Matter* of Divinity; so diligent have Men been, either in sowing of good Seed, or in sowing Tares.

THUS have I made it as it were a small Globe of the Intellectual World, as faithfully as I could; together with a Designation and Description of those Parts, which I find, either not constantly occupied, or not sufficiently improved, by the Industry and Labour of Man. In which Work, if I have in any Point receded from the Opinion of the Antients, I would have it interpreted as done with a Design of Proceeding in *Melius*, not in *Aliud*; with Purpose of Amendment and Proficiency; and not of Change and Innovation. For I could not be true to my self, nor to the Argument I handle, If I were not willing to go beyond others; But yet not more willing, than to have others go beyond me again. Which may the better appear by this, that I have propounded my Opinions naked and unarmed, not seeking to preoccupy the Liberty of Men's Judgments by disputatious Confutations

tions. For in any thing that is well set down, I am in good Hope, that if the first Reading move an Objection, the second Reading will make an Answer. And in those Things wherein I have chanced to err, I am sure I have offered no Violence to Truth by litigious Arguments; which certainly have this contrary Effect and Operation, that they add Authority to Error, and destroy the Authority of that which is well Invented. For Controversie is an Honour to Falsehood, as on the other side it is a Repulse to Truth. In the mean time, I call to mind an Answer *Themistocles* made, who, when a Deputy from an inconsiderable Village, had boasted great Matters of it in a set Harangue, takes him up thus, *Friend*, says He, *Your Words require a State*. Certainly it may very well be objected to me, That *my Words ask an Age*. A whole Age perhaps to Prove them; And several Ages, to Perfect them. Nevertheless, seeing even the greatest Things are owing to their Beginnings, it will be enough for me to have Sown unto Posterity, and the Immortal God: Whose Divine Majesty I humbly Implore, thro' his Son, and our Saviour, that He would Vouchsafe graciously to Accept these, and such like *Sacrifices of Human Understanding*, seasoned with Religion, as with Salt, and Offered first to His Glory, and next to the Honour of your Majesty, to whom on Earth I am most bounden.

